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THE ATTITUDES OF THE ESTABLISHED POLITICAL
CLASSES IN BRITAIN TOWARDS THE IRISH

1841-52

by

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(C)

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE ATTITUDES OF THE ESTABLISHED POLITICAL CLASSES IN BRITAIN TOWARDS THE IRISH, 1841-52 submitted by David W. Leonard in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

Of all the issues which confronted British parliaments during the early reign of Queen Victoria, none proved so intractable as the Irish Question. To some extent, Early Victorian handling of the problem of Ireland was affected by a special attitude towards the Irish people. This thesis is an attempt to explore the various attitudes of British parliamentarians and parliamentary commissioners--the established political classes--towards the Irish from the accession of Peel and the Conservatives in 1841 to the fall of Russell and the Whigs in 1852. It is hoped that a greater degree of understanding will be attained not only of how the handling of the problem of Ireland was influenced by attitudes towards Irishmen, but of what patterns of social behavior Early Victorian parliamentarians and parliamentary commissioners themselves thought worthy of a civilized community. As members of Parliament theoretically represented the people of Great Britain, the thesis is intended to provide some illumination of Early Victorian attitudes towards the Irish.

During the given period (relatively evenly proportioned between Whig and Tory administrations) there were certain phenomena which rendered British attitudes towards Irishmen of special significance. It was an age in which the political and economic aspects of the Irish Question intensified until they reached a climax with the Great Famine and the abortive uprising by Young Ireland in 1848. It was like-

wise an age when anti-Catholicism was very evident in Britain; the Irish, being mostly Catholic, were the recipients of much of the hostility directed towards the Catholic faith. There was a vast influx of Irish poor into Great Britain during these years as well; this resulted in closer association and a greater awareness of supposed race differences between the British and Irish peoples. Also, during this period, the 'condition of England' question concerned the upper social orders, and of course the worst of the industrial slums were often occupied by the Irish immigrants. It is probable that at no other time in the nineteenth century were British emotions so strained with respect to the Irish.

The attitudes expressed towards the Anglo-Irish aristocrats are not considered in the thesis. English views on the Roman Catholic peasantry of Ireland are analyzed, and the term 'Irish' is taken in reference to those members of that ethnic sub-culture who exhibited their supposed national characteristics. Also omitted are the attitudes of the Irish M.P.s although views expressed about them are dealt with.

The thesis does not attempt to analyze in great depth the opinions of any single individual. It is intended rather to depict the prevailing mood and the principal trends of thought in parliament with regards to the Irish. Nor is the thesis meant to be a study in race prejudice, although chapter 5 deals with this topic. The attempt is made to give as complete a picture as possible of precisely how the Early Victorian parliaments felt towards Irishmen, and of the intensity and

variety of these feelings. Little effort is made to discuss why the Irish were regarded in any particular manner. Of course such basic states of mind as anti-Catholicism, moral earnestness, and fear of revolution, which encouraged anti-Irish prejudice, could not be omitted. They are considered as phenomena contributing to a mental state with regards to the Irish; but as attitudes in themselves they are not explored. The thesis includes both biased and unbiased judgments, the intention being to reveal, as far as possible, the totality of Early Victorian parliamentary thought.

The first chapter of the thesis deals with parliamentary attitudes on the Irish Question; much of the animosity expressed towards the Irish people was due simply to the failure in finding a political solution to the problem of Ireland. In chapter two the nature and variance of the Irish attitudes are discussed, and in chapter three it is shown how these attitudes were affected by the Early Victorian response to Roman Catholicism. Chapter four is concerned with how the attitudes varied among the several parties and factions comprising parliament. The nature and degree of racial prejudice on the Irish is the theme of chapter five, while the concluding chapter is devoted to a consideration of the attitudes expressed by the non-political sections of English society and how these compared with the opinions of parliament.

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Chapter I

Government Policy, Parliamentary Opinion and The Irish Question

What did this eternal Irish Question mean? One said it was a physical question, another a spiritual question. Now it was the absence of an aristocracy, then the absence of railroads. It was the Pope one day, potatoes the next. . . . They had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church, and, in addition, the weakest executive in the world. That was the Irish Question.

1
--Benjamin Disraeli

Early Victorian attitudes expressed towards Irishmen often varied with the nature and intensity of the Irish Question. And, within the period 1841-1852 the Irish Question was in a complex state of transition. During the 1830's the belief was widespread that religious disparities in Ireland underlaid the depressed state of that country. This view prevailed despite the fact that Daniel O'Connell, the champion of Catholic Emancipation, had established in 1830 a Repeal Association, the avowed object of which was political, namely a repeal of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland which had been passed in 1801. O'Connell himself was an ardent Catholic, and the leading figures in his Repeal Association were almost totally recruited from the old Catholic Association. At the local level as well Catholic priests were often regional representatives of the Association while the churches were generally used as district Repeal centers. This all gave preponderance to the concept of religion as the basic issue of the Irish Question. This view prevailed in

parliament with the accession of Robert Peel and the Tories to office in September, 1841, and in fact lasted, though with decreasing certainty, until the appalling history of the Great Famine firmly established the economic situation of the Irish tenantry and the relationship between landlord and tenant as the essential anomaly sustaining Ireland in a depressed and rebellious social state. The question of nationalism, though the declared cause of the Repeal Association, was never given² primary importance by Westminster.

During the years 1835-1840 Ireland was relatively calm. The Repeal Association had been temporarily disbanded in 1835 in favour of an alliance with Melbourne's Whig ministry. By the 'Lichfield pact' the followers of O'Connell had agreed to support the Government in return for an attempt at alleviating Irish social grievances. Although from the Irish standpoint effective legislation was minimal the benign influence of the Marquess of Normanby, Lord Lieutenant, and especially Thomas Drummond, Under-Secretary, helped to ease the tension between Dublin Castle and the people of Ireland. A greater number of Catholics were appointed to public office and in the form of Boards of Poor Law Commissioners, established under the Irish Poor Law of 1838, there was, in a sense, a degree of popular representation in local affairs in Ireland. Such legislation as the 1840 Corporations Act and the 1838 Tithe Act also gave the impression that the Whigs were at least positively inclined with respect to Irish reform.

However, in September, 1841, the Tories were returned

to office with a substantial majority. O'Connell had always expressed deep antipathy towards the character of Robert Peel, and whereas the Peel administration was more capable and probably more willing than the Whigs to carry reform measures in Ireland, O'Connell and his Irish following were wholly suspicious of Tory intentions.³ Irish misgivings were influenced in part by the early reputation of Peel as Chief Secretary for Ireland as well as the general negative stand expressed by the Tories on Irish reform measures.⁴ In early 1841 the Tories had blocked a Whig measure offering a wider franchise to Ireland, based upon a revised system of registering voters, while in both 1840 and 1841 Lord Stanley's registration bills would have restricted even further the voting rights in Ireland.⁵ To O'Connell, therefore, support of the Tories was tantamount to joining the opposition.

On June 3, 1841, O'Connell had advised Peel as to his sympathies. He maintained that "Ireland was nearly exhausted . . . and had no hope if that Gentleman opposite [Peel] came into power".⁶ He further stated that in the future his Irish followers would only support a government which was willing to keep the question of repeal open to debate. Though an ominous sign of future tension, O'Connell's warning does not appear to have had any real effect upon Peel and the formation of Conservative policy towards Ireland. Indeed, the speech even gave Peel an excuse to ease his consideration of Ireland for it alienated several leading Whigs from what association they had maintained with O'Connell.⁷

Ireland had of late been calm, and in 1841 it ap-⁴
pears to have been an underlying assumption in parliament
that the country was at last slowly emerging from the social
strife which had prevailed there for centuries.⁸ Conse-
quently, in parliament, the Irish Question was a little-dis-
cussed issue. Indeed, the speech of Queen Victoria opening
parliament for that year contained no reference at all to the
state of Ireland. In the Government, too, Peel apparently
felt that there should be no fundamental change in the system⁹
of governing Ireland.

However, the character of the Irish executive which
Peel appointed made this an unlikely possibility. The Lord
Lieutenant, Earl De Grey, was recognized as a staunch conser-
vative and anti-Catholic, and although his Chief Secretary,
Lord Eliot, appears to have held somewhat enlightened views
on Ireland, De Grey sought to exercise effective personal¹⁰
control over Ireland from Dublin Castle. He was supported
by the Under-Secretary for Ireland, Edward Lucas, and dis-
putes between these two as opposed to Eliot caused the
Government a degree of embarrassment during its term in office.

To Peel, the principal issue in Ireland was religion,
and pacification there meant finding the proper balance of
Catholic and Protestant oriented measures which would result in
the least agitation by either side. "The problem of governing
Ireland," he said, "is the problem of peacefully governing
seven millions of people, and maintaining intact the Pro-¹¹
testant Establishment for the consolation of one million."

He was echoed by most of his colleagues, especially Sir James Graham, Home Secretary, who expressed his fear that "a religious struggle directed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and priesthood . . . would lead to bloodshed and convulse the empire," and the Duke of Wellington who felt that, "the bane of Ireland has ever been the uncontrolled passions evoked by Catholic invectives."¹²

The first significant issue to confront the Tory Government with respect to Ireland was the existing state of national education in operation there. Under the system established by the Whigs in 1831, state sponsored school instruction was to consist of both secular and religious teaching; the religion was to be adapted to the tenets of the different faiths of the children. However, in practice, the system had resulted in separate schools for the children of the Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian denominations. The leading clerics of all faiths were essentially opposed to a system of state education in Ireland as they were in Great Britain. Said the Archbishop of Armagh, "the national system . . . was a principle to which no Protestant clergyman could agree," for it¹³ excluded Scripture reading.

Within the Conservative cabinet there was some disagreement as to the merits of national education in Ireland. Peel himself regarded the current system as the best possible alternative, but he was opposed by De Grey and Ellenborough. Peel's stand was based primarily upon the belief that the existing system had proven satisfactory in view of the tense

religious situation in Ireland. As he said to De Grey, "When considering the religious passions which have, in the past, inflamed Ireland, we may find the best [education] course in process. . . ."¹⁴ This was broadly the view of Eliot as well, and in the end the elementary education system in Ireland was retained, to "ease the hostile bantering."¹⁵

Peel's early handling of the Maynooth College question also reflects his desire not to provoke controversy in Ireland, especially with religious overtones. In November, 1841, the Catholic bishops of Ireland requested from Westminster an increase in the annual grant to the Catholic seminary at Maynooth; however Peel, fearing a Protestant reaction in England as well as Ireland, advised De Grey that no increase could be provided. Peel even rejected the setting up of a commission to investigate the situation at Maynooth because he felt it would disturb the comparative religious calm which then prevailed.¹⁶ In November, 1842, a similar request was made from the Catholic clergy of Ireland, and again it was refused. "I have no wish to disturb the state of affairs,"¹⁷ maintained Peel.

Because of Peel's concern for peace, there were consequently few legislative measures affecting Ireland during his first two years in office. It was decided to avoid an extension of the income-tax to Ireland and instead raise the duty on spirits. In September, 1842, a land drainage bill was passed, and, shortly following, Eliot introduced a bill to legalize marriages between Presbyterians and Anglicans which

had been solemnized by the Presbyterian clergy, although this was held up until the next session. In short, the Government was largely preoccupied with issues outside Ireland, and it was felt that over-involvement with the Irish Question would merely provoke hostilities. However, the relatively tranquil state of Ireland was not to last. In October, 1840, Daniel O'Connell had re-established his Repeal Association. Agitation in the cause of repeal would soon vault 'the problem of Ireland' into the forefront of Government affairs.

Although in 1841 the Repeal movement was slow in expanding, two developments came to supplement O'Connell's energetic and determined campaign, and by late 1842 the situation was completely reversed. On July 7, 1841, Archbishop McHale of Taum, a boisterous and influential prelate, declared himself in favour of repeal and was soon supported by the greater part of the parochial clergy. Also, in October, 1842, the Nation, a journal representing a movement soon to be known as 'Young Ireland' commenced publication and likewise committed itself to repeal. By 1843 it was again evident that Ireland was in a state of social agitation. Through a system of 'monster meetings', nothing new to Irish or English politics, the popular enthusiasm for repeal was at last impressed upon the English mind. And, on May 9, 1843, Viscount Jocelyn questioned with some indignation "whether the Government is aware of the fearful excitement which has prevailed for some weeks past in
18
Ireland?"

However, at the outset of 1843 Ireland continued to

be a matter of secondary importance within parliament. In the spring session the only significant issue dealt with in the House of Commons pertaining directly to Ireland was the Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill, which was passed although it only slightly altered the existing Poor Law.¹⁹ It was not until autumn that the full implications of the vast monster meetings at last became evident to parliament. In general it was feared that Catholicism had found a new mode of riotous self-expression. Said Lane Fox, Member for Longford, "it is Popery, and nothing but Popery, which leads to the disorders now prevailing in Ireland."²⁰

Within the Government Earl De Grey sought special legislation in order to put down the repeal agitation; however Peel was hesitant to put forward any coercive measures until some illegal act had been committed.²¹ It was, as O'Connell ever maintained, in keeping with the law to promote the cause of repealing an act of parliament. Nevertheless, as early as May 9, Peel had announced in the House of Commons that "if the occasion should unhappily arise," he would appeal to the House for "additional effectual powers . . . to avert the mighty evil."²² The Government followed this up by removing a number of magistrates in Ireland who were known Repealers. Peel, shortly thereupon had cause to regret this move, for the Irish Chancellor, Edward Sugden, had conducted the magistrates' removal with no warning or explanation to them. This caused a response of indignation in parliament and evoked a greater degree of solidarity within the Repeal Association.²³

During the fall session of parliament the Government experienced a great deal of opposition for their handling of the situation in Ireland. In the commons an accusation of malicious intent was voiced by Richard Sheil, Member for Dungan, while in general the Whigs saw in the repressive measures an admission by the Government of the incapacity to govern Ireland justly.²⁴ On June 15, an Arms (Ireland) Bill was passed with much opposition, Lord John Russell especially noting that the policy of the Government had served only to make "the people of Ireland and England . . . more than ever alienated from each other."²⁵ However, the reaction was not entirely liberal, for in the House of Lords there were many who decried the Government's lack of decisiveness in repressing Repeal agitation. Notably such landowners as Lords Donoghmore, Roden, Glengall and Clancarty argued for more definite measures protecting life and property. Lord Lorton pressed the Government to "check that conspiracy which is spreading over the entire empire."²⁶

In the 1843 parliamentary debates the underlying belief was strong that the agitation in Ireland represented fundamentally a Catholic movement. Despite the strains of Irish patriotism emulating from the Young Ireland poets and the nationalistic tone of O'Connell's harangues, both Houses as well as the Government tended to see the base of the Repeal movement in the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland.²⁷ Henry Ward and John Bright stressed that the only solution to hostilities was in disestablishing the Irish Church, and in the

Lords the Duke of Wellington especially longed to extirpate,²⁸ somehow, the influence of Catholicism. Even Lord Russell expressed that the "church menace" in Ireland was basic to²⁹ the unhealthy state of that country. Indeed, even during the debates on the Irish Arms Bill the measure was discussed³⁰ largely in terms of arming Protestants against Catholics.

Yet the belief in Catholic involvement was not unanimous. Indeed, within parliament at this time a fundamental dispute can be seen to have taken place concerning Roman Catholicism in Ireland and the nature of its attachment to the agitation. Lord Lorton claimed that "all the bishops and clergy of the Church of Rome were determined to repeal the Union."³¹ He was echoed most vociferously by the Earl of Charleville and the Earl of Roden. However, the Earl of Glengall acknowledged that many of the Catholic priests were peace-minded, while the Marquess of Downshire said he "did sincerely trust that the Roman Catholic clergy, leaving the turmoil of party strife to others, would join, heart and hand, in efforts that must promote the welfare of the people."³² This debate was to continue in varying degrees throughout the³³ mid-nineteenth century.

By August, 1843, Repeal agitation had reached such an extent that it was felt in Government circles O'Connell³⁴ must be prosecuted. At a monster meeting in Cork on May 21, 500,000 were said to have been present, while at Tara, on³⁵ August 15, upwards to 750,000 were counted. Peel now experienced deep anxiety over Ireland, and he too had come to

the belief that necessity warranted the arrest of O'Connell. On August 24, the Government found its opportunity. In the Commons O'Connell had severely criticized the Queen's speech proroguing parliament because it had stated that the Union was to be maintained at all costs. He had further announced that one final monster meeting of the year would be held at Clontarff, supposedly to assemble the 'council of three hundred'.³⁶ The speech, it was thought, could be interpreted as sedition. Consequently, with the approval of Peel, Earl De Grey issued a proclamation prohibiting the Clontarff meeting, and followed this up by ordering the arrest of nine members of the Repeal Association, including Daniel O'Connell, on charges of conspiracy and illegally attempting to alter the constitution. The following January they were found guilty by a jury which was 'packed' with Protestants.

The action of the Tory administration both during and subsequent to O'Connell's arrest reveals the extent to which it was thought that Catholicism was the touchstone of the Irish agitation. In October, the Government, intending to weaken O'Connell's support among the Catholic priests of Ireland, followed a suggestion by Prince Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, and appealed to Rome in regards to the rebellious activities of a large portion of the Irish priesthood. A collection of recent speeches of certain priests was made and transmitted by the Earl of Aberdeen, Foreign Secretary, to the Holy See. The Vatican was, however, desirous to avoid entanglements with the British Government, and it was not un-

til a year later that a response was made to the British request, and even then the reply was ambiguous and cautiously worded.³⁷ A Papal rescript was however sent to Archbishop Crolly of Armagh pressing the Irish clergy to avoid political activities. But this, as well, was a mildly-worded document, and apparently it did little to discourage the political dealings of the Irish clergy.³⁸

Robert Peel's method of coping with the Catholic question was not totally negative. In the wake of Repeal agitation he had also come to the conclusion that the rebellious state of Ireland could be eased by a conciliatory policy towards the Catholic hierarchy. As he advised Graham in October, "it is clear that mere force, however necessary the application of it, will do nothing as a permanent remedy for the social evils."³⁹ Until the Great Famine in 1846 necessitated measures for agrarian relief, the reform legislation passed for Ireland was essentially of a religious nature.

In a cabinet memorandum presented on February 11, 1844, Peel set the tone for what was to become his Irish reform policy during the remainder of his term in office. He maintained that a further reform of the Catholic franchise would be desirable for the future tranquility of Ireland. He stressed the need to detach the moderate Catholics from the cause of repeal. Sir James Graham was in complete accord and stressed that "the danger of Ireland is civil war, which cannot fail from its commencement to assume a religious character."⁴⁰ Graham too stood for moderation and maintained:

We must maintain the Union and the Protestant Church in Ireland at all hazards. But while we are inexorable on these two points, we ought to stretch out the hand of fellowship in every other, ever hoping against hope . . . to soften animosities.⁴¹

And yet, the wish to promote pro-Catholic measures in Ireland was not prominent in the Cabinet. Stanley, Wellington and Ellenborough all saw religion at the heart of the Irish Question; but they all rejected the principle of legislation designed to ease the burdens of Catholicism.⁴²

Peel's desire to placate Irish Catholicism can be seen also in his new appointments to the Irish administration. In July, 1844, Lord Heytesbury was created Lord Lieutenant in place of De Grey, whose disputes with the cabinet had led to his resignation. Heytesbury was recognized as an experienced diplomat, lenient towards Catholics and content to follow Government policy.⁴³ He worked well with Eliot and even Lucas, and when both of these men retired from office in 1845 Heytesbury was presented with two relatively enlightened replacements in Sir Thomas Freemantle as Chief Secretary and Richard Pennefather as Under-Secretary. It is also significant that at this time the Government even contemplated appointing a Catholic as Under-Secretary, though it was eventually considered that reaction from the Irish Tories would be too strong. It was felt that the best policy for Ireland was to be found in a middle position between the Catholic agitation and the Protestant reaction.⁴⁴

The first legislative step taken towards pacifying

the Irish Catholics had come on June 18, 1843, with the introduction of the Charitable Donations and Bequests Bill. The measure altered the old system of charities in Ireland by abolishing the controlling board of fifty members which had been set up in 1800. In place of this board, which was almost exclusively Protestant in composition, the new Bill facilitated the establishment of a new and less cumbersome body comprising thirteen members; at least five of them were to be Catholics.⁴⁵ However, the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland was skeptical. Neither Catholic nor Protestant churchmen had been consulted as to the mechanics of the measure, and it was feared that the Government was intending secular control over what was regarded as a religious sphere of local influence. Especially vehement was Archbishop McHale of Taum, whose influence rallied the greater portion of the Irish priesthood against the Bill.⁴⁶

Within the parliament the Bill aroused much less controversy and was easily passed. But the same cannot be said of the next piece of Irish legislation geared to pacify the Catholics, the Maynooth Bill, which was introduced in the Commons by Peel on April 3, 1845. The controversy surrounding Maynooth had been with the Government since 1841. As a Catholic seminary, founded in 1795, Maynooth College had been the recipient of a Government grant of £9,000 annually. It was then hoped to have the Irish priests trained in Ireland, avoiding contact with the revolutionary doctrines which were spreading on the Continent. However, since the French Revolu-

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present. The author then goes on to discuss the various factors which have shaped the development of the United States, including the influence of the British, the Spanish, and the French. The author also discusses the role of the American people in the development of the country, and the importance of the American Revolution.

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tionary period, the fear of domestic Catholicism as a revolutionary force in Ireland had become greater, and the principle of the Government financing a 'foreign' religious institution was often questioned.

In 1843 Peel had contemplated a special commission of inquiry into the operation of all branches of higher learning in Ireland. However, in the wake of repeal agitation he decided to propose legislation dealing with Maynooth and the lay colleges separately. As in the case of the Bequests Bill the Government did not consult the Catholic hierarchy, however, the attitude of the Catholic prelates was made clear to the Government through the use of lay intermediaries. The Maynooth Bill left the constitution of the college essentially untouched. The annual grant was increased to £26,360 and placed on a statutory basis, while a separate grant of £30,000 was made available for the construction of new buildings. There was virtually no increase in the degree of Government control over Maynooth.⁴⁷

The Bill was intended, as Peel himself admitted, to "help ease the religious struggles which have ever plagued Ireland."⁴⁸ Within the cabinet the Bill won a great deal of support, although Peel and Graham both realized that there was a danger of provoking an anti-Catholic reaction. Their fears were realized, for almost immediately after the Bill's initial reading the negative response of the ultra-Tories was heard. Outside parliament the large number of petitions and public meetings attested to the widespread fear of Catholic

expansion, while within both Houses opposition was no less extreme. Indeed, the reaction threatened the very existence of the Tory Government; on the first three readings of the Bill the vast majority of those voting against it were

⁴⁹ Tories. The Earl of Winchelsea and John Kenyon undertook to circulate among the clergy of each parish in England a petition against a measure "which encourages, endows, aggrandizes and perpetuates the unconstitutional and dangerous domination of a foreign, hostile, spiritual power".⁵⁰ The Government was also opposed by such radicals as John Bright and Henry Ward because of their opposition to state-sponsored and financed religious institutions.

In the House of Lords the debate on Maynooth revealed with great clarity the wide gap which existed between the Conservative leaders and many of their supporters in the upper House. Lord Roden expressed how much it grieved him to disagree with Wellington, who had introduced the measure, yet he could never vote for a bill which "would pay and endow an institution for the purpose of extending throughout Ireland . . . a religion not only different from, but hostile to the Established religion."⁵¹ The Bishop of London maintained his desire to see educated and responsible clergymen in Ireland, but the Bill contained "no promise that there would be any alteration of importance in the system of instruction," which to him, was basically subversive.⁵² In the Commons, too, opposition was strong, with Sir Robert Inglis, M. P. for Oxford, leading the attack "in defence of our ancient institu-

tions."⁵³ It is ironic that he and John Bright were found in firm opposition to the same Bill.⁵⁴

The Maynooth Bill, which was passed in April, was followed by the Academical Institutions (Ireland) Bill which Graham introduced in May, 1843. This Bill proposed to incorporate 'Queen's Colleges' in Belfast, Cork and Galway to counter-balance the influence of Trinity College, Dublin, whose predominantly Anglican character rendered it unacceptable to many Catholics.⁵⁵ Contrary to the Maynooth Bill, the Academical Institutions Bill provoked little controversy in parliament, although in Ireland there was strong opposition, based largely on the fear of secular control over higher education. This Bill was also passed in May, and by 1849 the colleges were in operation.

The importance of the Maynooth and Academical Institutions Bills lies less in the practical reforms which they instituted than in their symbolic role as measures of appeasement from the Government towards Catholicism in Ireland. They represent a wish to ease religious tension, and hence, it was reasoned, political tension between Ireland and England. However, their immediate effect was wholly negative, for religious antagonisms were only intensified. The Orange Society was revived at the end of 1845, and especially in the northern counties Orange activities were carried on with the open support of such landowners as Lords Enniskillen, Erne and Roden. Likewise the involvement of the Catholic priesthood in repeal activities was reported to be more pronounced than ever

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before.

But religious issues formed only a part of the unrest which plagued Ireland during 1845. As well as the continued agitation for repeal it was noted that unorganized agrarian offences were also rapidly increasing, especially in the western portion of Ireland. Peel reasoned that the agrarian unrest corresponded to the recent economic distress which he hoped would soon be abated.⁵⁷ However, his hopes were not to be realized during the next five years. In September, 1845, the potato crop in south-east Ireland was noted to be seriously affected with blight, and before the year was out Ireland was beginning to suffer from its worst famine in modern history.

Although the Great Famine was to make the issue of land, and possession of it, the essential feature of the Irish Question in parliament, there had been a growing awareness in Government circles of the land issue since late 1843. Sir James Graham in particular felt a need to improve the system of land tenure, and he stressed that the Government at least "might probe [it] by a Commission on land tenure".⁵⁸ Peel too acknowledged that the land system in Ireland was antiquated.⁵⁹ In the summer of 1843, the Devon Commission was set up to investigate the situation of the Irish tenantry. However, the Commission was only one of enquiry, and as Graham noted, "it will open a distinct view of the causes of discontent in Ireland, but alas! I fear the remedies are beyond the reach of legislative power."⁶⁰

In parliament as well there can be discerned an increased recognition of the inequitable nature of the land tenure system during the early 1840's. Sharman Crawford, Member for Down, was a principle advocate of a more just land system. Sir Donald Norreys too made the question of land occupation in Ireland a parliamentary issue, while O'Connell⁶¹ often used the agrarian problem in his arguments for repeal. Of the English members, Lord Brougham chiefly voiced concern⁶² with the land problem in Ireland.

In February, 1845, the Devon Commission presented its report to parliament. The constructive proposals which it submitted were few and very moderate, among them various drainage and land reclamation schemes and the suggestion that upon the termination of their land holdings the tenants should be compensated for improvements they had made. Nevertheless, the extensive evidence concerning the miserable plight of the Irish peasant was useful and influenced parliamentary views on the Irish Question. Shortly after the Commission's report much astonishment was expressed in both Houses at the extent of misery in Ireland which the Commissioners had revealed. The Devon Commission also acknowledged that the "foundation of all the evils by which the social condition of Ireland is disturbed is to be traced to those feelings of mutual distrust, which too often separate the classes of landlord and tenant."⁶³

In June, 1845, the Commission's report bore fruit when Lord Stanley introduced in the Lords a Compensation to

Tenants (Ireland) Bill. This would have facilitated compensation for lasting improvements on lands or buildings to those tenants evicted from their holdings; the rate of compensation was to be on a diminishing scale for periods up to thirty years. The Bill was not a major piece of legislation, yet it encountered much opposition which cut across party lines. Lord Londonderry claimed the Bill would establish a commission in Dublin which would dictate to tenants as well as landlords; he was supported by both Whig and Tory peers owning estates in Ireland.⁶⁴ The landowners' opposition was intense, and after the second reading the ministry's majority fell to fourteen. Consequently, it was decided to shelve the Bill by sending it to a select committee for examination. Peel and Stanley, though somewhat surprised by the degree of opposition in the Lords, nevertheless promised another bill along similar lines for the next session of parliament.⁶⁵

Lord Stanley's Bill was presented before the initial wave of blight had severely affected the potatoes in Ireland. By the new year the Great Famine had added a new dimension to the Irish Question. The Famine also placed in a different perspective the primary political issue in England at this time, namely the repeal of the Corn Laws. And the tragedy of the Famine was augmented not only by political instability within the Tory party in 1846 but by the fact that Peel himself had of late been firmly converted to the cause of free trade, a cause which looked askance at the stand for agricultural protection and Governmental intervention

in the economic affairs of private individuals.

By late 1845 it was recognized in Britain that Ireland was suffering from at least a mild food crisis, and an Irish Relief Commission was duly set up in November. However, at this time it was Peel's expressed view that relief measures were to be purely local, in accordance with the Irish Poor Law.⁶⁶ Peel rejected outright a suggestion by Lord Heytesbury that a prohibition should be placed on the export of potatoes.⁶⁷ Peel's stand was generally supported in the cabinet by Sir James Graham, but the majority of the Tory party was opposed to free trade.

Peel contended that it would be unfair to utilize public funds towards relief measures while at the same time disallowing the importation of food duty free.⁶⁸ Yet even had he then contemplated any substantial relief measure to alleviate distress, Peel's ability to undertake substantial legislation was rapidly decreasing. His abandonment of protection had alienated a large number of Tories, and the unity within his cabinet was fast disappearing. On December 5, because he was unable to satisfy the protectionists, Peel tendered his resignation to Queen Victoria. Due to Russell's inability to form a ministry however, Peel was back in office by December 19 with the Government which was to repeal the Corn Laws, and by doing so break up the Tory party. The administration was weak and it required the good will of the Whigs for its very existence; consequently the relief measures which it passed were weak and only mildly effectual. But, by

the beginning of 1846, Peel had at least recognized the need for some program of relief.⁶⁹

In January, a Public Works Bill was introduced in the Commons, while in February there followed a Drainage Bill, a Fishery Piers and Harbour Bill and a County Works Presentments Bill. These were very narrow in scope and were all quickly passed into legislation. The cost of the relief which they provided was to be paid by both local sources and Government funds. The Special Relief Commission was extended in order to distribute the revenue supplied by the Treasury to the local relief committees. In November, 1845, it had been decided by a treasury minute to import Indian corn worth £100,000, which was to be sold at low prices in Ireland. Like other measures, this gesture was most inadequate in view of the widespread misery.

Parliament was wholly preoccupied at this time with the Corn Law question, and the attention paid to Ireland was largely confined to the issue of peace and order. The problem of rural disturbances was likewise critical to Peel, and by the outset of 1846 he had decided to produce some legislation to meet the increase of crime and outrage.⁷⁰ Consequently, the Protection of Life (Ireland) Bill was introduced in February. By it, collective fines could be levied to compensate victims of outrage, extra police could be brought into critical areas, and a strict curfew imposed, violation⁷¹ of which would bring fifteen years' transportation. The Bill failed to pass first reading due to the amount of time

given the Corn Law issue; on the second reading, June 25, it was too late. Earlier that day the Corn Laws were repealed, and the Whigs, wishing to bring down the Government, and the Tory protectionists (who were generally the most favourable towards Irish coercion measures) both voted against the Bill, defeating the Peel ministry by seventy-three votes. The problem of Ireland was now the concern of the Whigs.

The accession of Lord Russell to office in July, 1846, was met with general approval in O'Connellite circles in Ireland. O'Connell had recently been cultivating the favour of the Whigs and had even attempted an alliance with them along the lines of the 'Lichfield pact'.⁷² But O'Connell's faith in Russell was to go unrewarded. Like Peel the Whig leader felt that the free trade principle would augment Ireland's purchasing power, and like Peel he headed a government whose backing in parliament was a minority; it was only the hostility between the two sections of the Conservative party which permitted Russell to remain in office.

But Russell early evinced a desire to pass effective, long-term legislation for Ireland. On July 18, he promised to introduce a drainage bill, a leases bill and an ejectment bill, and to reform the Tenant Compensation Act,⁷³ which he considered ineffective. He promised to replace the half-measures of the Conservatives with a bill dealing with the landlord-tenant question, a franchise bill placing Ireland and England on equal footing and a bill to encourage

land reclamation in Ireland. But hopes for substantial relief measures were soon dampened, for on August 15, the Prime Minister made clear what policy the Government would follow should the Famine in Ireland become even more critical. He would act almost exclusively upon the principles laid down by the Irish Poor Law; Ireland must sustain itself. He declared against free relief, for "instead of a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, you have an unfair day's wages for an unfair day's work."⁷⁴ Russell thus at least acknowledged the need for improving the lot of the tenant-farmer in Ireland, but as to feeding the starving people he appears to have been incapable of looking beyond the doctrines of the classical economists which were so much an economic orthodoxy at this time. The principal mode of relief was to be the law of supply and demand, and those relief schemes deemed necessary were to be financed by Government loans, payment of which would be obtained through the levying of a local rate.⁷⁵

In August, the Poor Employment (Ireland) Act, which laid the foundation of Russell's relief policy, was passed through parliament. It was designed primarily to provide work for the people; relief was to be kept strictly on a local basis.⁷⁶ It was the intention of Russell to have Ireland pay its own way. He was supported in his cabinet primarily by Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who stressed avoidance of "so unfortunate a thing . . . as to relax in any point which relieved any portion of the Irish

community from the duties which they are respectively called upon to perform."⁷⁷ The civil service whose duty it was to administer relief was also generally opposed to any further increase of Government intervention. Sir Charles Trevelyan, head of the relief commission, maintained that, ". . . detailed drainage and improvement of the whole country is a task for which the nature and functions of government are totally unsuited."⁷⁸ Within parliament as well the laissez-faire ideal underscored most of the debates favouring Government policy. A speech of Mr. Montague-Gore in April, 1847, on the need for railways in Ireland reflected largely the liberal attitude toward free trade and industry in connection with Irish economy:

The Irish were not destitute of energy and spirit, but would earn their livelihood in an honest and respectable way if the means were placed within their power. In Scotland at one time there was great want of spirit and energy; and one way by which industrious habits were introduced, was the construction of roads and the improvement of internal communication.⁷⁹

Opposition to the Government's policy contained, understandably, the Irish landed classes as well as the remnants of O'Connell's following in the Commons.⁸⁰ Indeed, there can be seen in the debates on the Famine a contest between the Irish landed classes and the Government, each shifting responsibility for relief on to the other party. Lords Clanricarde, Lansdowne and Bessborough especially denounced the Government's "lack of responsibility."⁸¹ The Earl of Wicklow maintained that "there was no one who was

acquainted with the state of society in Ireland who would not object to give relief."⁸² It was also argued, especially by Lords Devon and Monteagle, that the works program should be made productive, meaning that emphasis should be placed on improving the condition of the private estates.⁸³

While the principles involved in Famine relief were debated in parliament, misery in Ireland increased, and by January, 1847, the Whig administration finally concluded that the system of public works then operating in Ireland was insufficient to meet the present needs of the people.⁸⁴

Russell, at last moved by the wholesale starvation, felt compelled to abandon economic theory, for a while at least, and permit the free distribution of food to areas of extreme distress. The Poor Employment Act was abandoned and a new poor law was planned for Ireland. Russell also outlined a series of long-term goals which appeared to possess the potential of an effective reform program. A comprehensive scheme of wasteland reclamation and drainage, costing £1,000,000 was revealed, and a system was suggested whereby the estates of unenterprising and offensive landlords should be taken from them and re-distributed to more industrious proprietors. Russell also indicated the Government's deep concern for the issue of tenant compensation for improvements.⁸⁵

However, so comprehensive a scheme could not have succeeded, and the Government did not attempt to pass these proposals fully into legislation. On January 25, Russell introduced his Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill, which limited

Government relief strictly to the sick, the old and the absolutely destitute. This was to last only until September of 1847, whereupon emergency measures would have to be financed exclusively by the local rate. Conservative elements in parliament nevertheless waged a hostile battle against the Bill, while radicals derided its ineffectiveness. The Bill was passed with the Conservative amendment that required all applicants for relief to give up their land if it was larger than one quarter of an acre.⁸⁶

The pattern was thus set for the remainder of Russell's Famine legislation. Starvation continued in Ireland, and 'Black '47' was to go down in history as the worst year of the Great Famine. By August it was obvious that further relief measures would have to be undertaken to succeed the Poor Relief Act which was scheduled to end in September. Consequently the Destitute Poor (Ireland) Act was quickly passed through parliament to supply food during the current period of extreme hunger. Corn, biscuits and salted meat were imported for distribution to the absolutely destitute; no one holding more than one quarter acre of land was permitted relief.

Although Russell's relief program was too weak and came too late to halt wholesale starvation, the Whig leader recognized the landlord-tenant relations were largely responsible for the existing economic strife. "The war between landlord and tenant has been carried on for eighty years," he maintained, "it is evident that this relation, which ought to

be one of mutual confidence, is one of mutual hostility."

Russell advocated substantial reforms affecting the conditions under which the Irish tenants occupied their land, and he was backed by Lord Clarendon, who continually stressed the need for compensation for evicted tenants who had made improvements. However, the rest of the cabinet was not in agreement.⁸⁸

Although parliamentary opposition to Russell's Irish policy was voiced, it was often divided and never serious enough to bring down the Government. As K. B. Nowlan maintains, "Russell had little to fear from parliament, for . . . his Irish policy, controversial or otherwise, was conspicuous by its absence, and Tory protectionists and Peel-⁸⁹ites were well content that this should be so." However, the Tory protectionists did attempt to take the initiative away from the Whigs. On February 4, 1847, Lord George Bentinck, recognized as the protectionist leader in parliament, had suggested the establishment of a substantial program of railway development in Ireland, in all £16,000,000 being proposed towards the project, repayment of which was to be made by the private companies within thirty years.⁹⁰ The scheme was generous and won the praise of the Irish Repeal members. However, Russell warned the Irish representatives that if carried the Bill would mean the resignation of the Whig Government. And, in the end, the Irish members preferred⁹¹ the Whigs to the railway scheme, and the measure was lost.

Ireland was compelled to bear the consequences of

the Famine with only minimal Government aid.⁹² Because of the Government's aloofness, the agitation in Ireland was being gradually transformed from a discrepancy between two nations to a struggle between two social classes. In February, 1847, a 'tenant-right' league was established in Cork, and although similar associations were not active on a large scale until 1849, the theme of 'tenant-right' was at last beginning to rival that of 'repeal'.⁹³ The question of land was coming more and more to the fore in parliamentary discussions on the Irish Question as well, although here the predominating theme was the issue of crime and outrage.

Despite his criticisms of Peel's coercive measures, Lord John Russell too felt the suppression of disorder in Ireland to be a vital necessity.⁹⁴ In May, 1847, upon the death of Lord Bessborough, Russell appointed Lord Clarendon as Lord Lieutenant for Ireland. To Clarendon the nature of the Irish disorders was two-fold, religious and economic, and his plans for depreciating crime in Ireland included a policy of goodwill towards the Catholic hierarchy as well as greater use of the constabulary.⁹⁵ Upon Clarendon's insistence a Crime and Outrage (Ireland) Bill was introduced on November 29, 1847. As a coercive measure it was milder than that proposed by Peel, and it quickly passed; it merely enabled the Lord Lieutenant to designate certain districts as areas of crime and to draft additional police into them.⁹⁶ It was also Clarendon who had initiated Lord Minto's visit to the Holy See in August, 1847, in order to bring Papal influence

to bear upon the political activities of the Irish priests. Minto's mission proved more successful than the Tory overtures to Rome, and in early 1848 a Papal rescript was published instructing the Irish clergy not to become involved in secular political matters.⁹⁷

Although the more strict administration of Ireland did apparently reduce the crime rate in late 1847, by January, 1848, Clarendon felt that Ireland was still in a condition bordering on revolution.⁹⁸ Shortly upon the initial stages of the French Revolution of 1848, he advised Russell as to the need for more legislation to enable him to act more forcefully with regard to the Irish agitators. Russell was in basic agreement, but in a cabinet memorandum in March he expressed his desire to combine coercion with conciliation. He proposed suspension of Habeas Corpus yet advised that further money be spent towards public works and an endowment for the Catholic church.⁹⁹

The Whig cabinet was largely split over future Irish measures, both conciliatory and coercive. Palmerston and Lansdowne were adverse to a restriction upon landlords' rights, while Grey and Charles Wood disapproved the suspending of constitutional rights.¹⁰⁰ A way out of the impasse was provided by Lord Campbell, who suggested that a new law against "treason-felony" should be passed.¹⁰¹ The cabinet was not adverse to Campbell's suggestion, and in April, a Crown and Government Security Bill was introduced which stated that conspiracy to forcefully overthrow the existing political struc-

ture was felony and hence punishable by transportation. The measure was well received by parliament and was quickly passed. But it was unsatisfactory to Clarendon for it lacked any real effectiveness. It allowed the continued existence of the militant Confederate clubs, which, in 1848, were in a more hostile mood than ever before.¹⁰²

Clarendon however decided to utilize the Security Act. John Mitchel, the most militant of the Young Ireland leaders, was arrested on a charge of sedition and conspiracy to provoke rebellion. On May 26, he was sentenced to fourteen years transportation. Although there was no serious outbreak of revolt in Ireland upon Mitchel's sentencing, Clarendon continued to stress the necessity of more extensive administrative powers to deal with what he considered to be the inevitable insurrection. By mid-July, the cabinet as a whole shared this view. On July 22, Lord Russell introduced a Bill to suspend Habeas Corpus in Ireland until March 1, 1849. The fact that the Bill was passed on its first reading attests to the concern in parliament over the mounting agitation in Ireland.¹⁰³

Soon after the Bill's passage, Dublin was proclaimed under the new Act, and on July 26, Clarendon issued from Dublin Castle a statement which maintained, in essence, that simply belonging to a political organization, the purpose of which was to promote repeal, was sufficient reason for arrest. This provoked panic among the Confederate leaders and led to the abortive attempt at revolt by Smith O'Brien in Tipperary

on July 29. The ease with which the rebellion was put down revealed to the Government the impotency of the Irish revolutionaries; famine had almost completely deprived the repeal cause of its vitality. Dating from this time the land problem was central in Ireland and Westminster alike.

The failure of Russell's Irish policy, as well as that of Peel, stemmed partly from the agonies of Ireland and a failure to cope imaginatively and effectively with Irish distress. But it is also partly attributable to the weakness of both Tory and Whig Governments during the mid and late-1840's. Both administrations were dependent upon the goodwill of opposition forces in parliament for their Irish policies. Consequently, the attitudes of parliament to the Irish Question were more significant on policy making than was generally the case. The fact that reform legislation was weak and unpatterned reveals a lack of parliamentary as well as Governmental unanimity on what was considered the proper course of Irish reform.

Chapter II

The Nature of the Attitudes

It is a remarkable feature of our English John Bull character that we are singularly incapable of understanding or accommodating ourselves to the character of others.

1
--The Quarterly Review

As the Irish Question varied in political prominence and definition during the years 1841-52, so too did parliamentary attitudes towards Irishmen fluctuate in intensity and complexity throughout the same period. In their appearance and behavior the Irish were very much victims of a depressed way of life. The longevity of the Irish social condition coupled with the rapid industrial and social evolution of the English community did much towards engendering in the English mind a greater awareness of the distinctions between the English and Irish temperments. The personality traits considered to be peculiarly Irish were often contradictory, and in general they fell into two broad categories: those associated with laziness and indolence and those expressing violence and rebelliousness. Each of these two categories encompassed a wide range of characteristics. There were also positive views expressed towards the Irish personality. Yet it is reasonable to say that within these two broad classification patterns there was embodied the essence of 'Paddy', the lazy, excitable Irishman.

Often statements upon the Irish would include criteria from both categories, as can be seen in Disraeli's

inflammatory statement: "this wild, reckless, indolent, uncertain and superstitious race have no sympathy with the English character."² However, most parliamentary pronouncements on the Irish during the 1840's depicted either lazy, shiftless, unenterprising social parasites, or wild, riotous, excitable rebels.

The social situation in Ireland usually took precedence in parliamentary discussion over the political administration of that country. Thomas Osborne's statement that "what is wanted from Ireland was not political but social regeneration"³ reflected the general approach. References in parliament to Irish social decay were perhaps more widespread during the 1840's than any other previous time. A typical assertion was made by Lord Norreys in 1843:

The poorer classes of Ireland were beginning to lose that reliance on their self-exertion and labour which had carried them through all their difficulties hitherto. In fact they were beginning to feel that they would be absolutely in a better position by letting themselves drop into destitution than by making any exertion for independence.⁴

Ireland had remained fundamentally an agricultural country throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, while in Britain the opportunities to exercise free initiative in a growing industrial economy had served to acclimatize a large portion of the political classes to the values of frugality, hard work and individual initiative. In Ireland the tenants had virtually no opportunity to amass capital; the produce of the land belonged wholly to the landlord. Also,

the peasantry cultivated their crops in June and September; the rest of the year, if spent in Ireland, was little devoted to commercial pursuits.⁵ Irish work patterns were thus uneven compared to those of the industrial population of England and Scotland.⁶ Consequently, the slack months of the year provided examples to parliament of what seemed an unwillingness on the part of the tenantry to better their material condition. For this reason, "rapidity and energy, capital and enterprise" were usually regarded as qualities for which Irishmen had special need.⁷ The Irish Poor Law Commissioners were primarily inclined to note the Irish peasants' disinclination to work beyond the limitations of their own holdings, yet the Irish immigrants to Britain were also the objects of frequent accusations of laziness.

Like so much of what was considered to be undesirable in the Irish character, the tendency towards indolence was thought to be decreasing in Ireland during the early 1840's. In the report of the commission on illicit distillation in 1842, reference is made to "the increased habits of industry" on the part of the Connaught tenantry, while Davis Philon, Commissioner on Medical Charities (Ireland), paid tribute to an improved "spirit of economy" and stipulated that "any decline in this feeling of independence is much to be dreaded."⁸ The Seventh Annual Report of the Poor Law (Ireland) Commissioners best reveals the optimistic trend:

The increase in these qualities
[economy and prudence] is now, we are
satisfied, in rapid progress in Ireland;

and to this we mainly attribute the important fact, that the pressure of the past year was sustained not only without the usual aid from Government but with less suffering and privation among the people. Yet the crops last year were certainly under an average. . . . The people therefore must have evidently become more provident, and must have husbanded their means. They must also, we believe, have acquired generally a clearer perception of their real interests and a necessity of relying on their own efforts.⁹

In the House of Commons too a belief that industriousness was increasing in Ireland prevailed. Samuel Ferguson, Member for Lancaster, maintained that he "was pleased, of late, to have noted a desire, new to the people [of Ireland], to self-reliance and economy."¹⁰ Sir Robert Peel, too, acknowledged what he considered to be a growing sense of earnestness in Ireland.¹¹ In the Lords the Duke of Wellington and Lord Brougham both paid tribute to what they believed was an "advancing spirit of industry."¹²

The belief of increased industriousness in Ireland was substantiated only by the fact of comparative agricultural prosperity and a corresponding decline in rural disturbances.¹³ Consequently, with the initial stages of the Great Famine, the optimistic assumption of decreasing indolence lost much of its foundation. In December, 1847, there took place the first parliamentary debate of any length on the issue of Famine relief. Soon after, Sir James Graham declared that "the desire to live, even in the most pitiful condition, on public funds was rampant in Ireland."¹⁴ As

the intensity of the Famine grew, statements of a similar nature became common within both houses of parliament. The Famine was, by mid-nineteenth century standards, a most expensive ordeal, and to a nation in the process of instituting a free enterprise economy the inability of Ireland to sustain itself moved many political figures to protest strongly against that country's inadequate sense of industry. "Justice to Ireland," maintained Henry Drummond, "required that starving people should be kept alive; but justice required that they should be kept alive by their own labours, and not the labours of others."¹⁵

It was the Famine policy of both Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell to have Ireland self-sufficient as quickly as possible, and Government relief programs were designed with the ulterior purpose of getting the peasants to fend for themselves. As Lord John Russell maintained, "it must be understood that under no circumstances can we actually feed the people."¹⁶ When it became evident that Ireland could not maintain itself, allusions to Irish indolence increased to such a degree that this feature of the Irish character was considered in many circles to be the problem in Ireland. As The Edinburgh Review maintained:

A peasant proprietary may succeed to a certain extent, where there is a foundation of steadiness of character, and a habit of prudence; and a spring of pride, and a value for independence and comfort; but we fear all these words merely show the vain nature of schemes of peasant proprietorship in Ireland.¹⁷

Sir Charles Trevelyan, director of the relief programs, who has since been regarded as having epitomized the laissez-faire ideal in the British civil service, was of this opinion: "The greatest improvement of all which could take place in Ireland would be to teach the people to depend upon themselves. . . instead of having recourse to the assistance of the Government on every occasion."¹⁸

The belief that an indolent disposition on the part of the Irish was largely responsible for the monstrous proportions of the Famine appears to have been perpetuated by many of the commissions sent to investigate the extent of the distress. Though such commissions did often contain several Irishmen they were essentially English in composition.¹⁹ In general, references to Irish laziness followed upon lengthy descriptions of the physical misery of the rural population and seem to have been inserted as an attempted explanation of the existing situation. An example of this can be found in the 1847 report of the Poor Law Commission in Ireland, in which it was maintained that

Of all the problems facing the Irish people, the absence of a desire to exert themselves cannot be ignored. The apathy rife in Galway is found in Tipperary, Limerick and Clare as well. . . . The people of Galway absolutely refuse to help themselves out of their present predicament.²⁰

References in commission reports to Irish laziness increased with the Famine during the summer months of 1847 and especially those of 1848.²¹ General sympathy was almost invariably accompanied by such statements as, "but the people are prone

to inactivity."²² The essential failure of the outdoor relief programs of 1848 and 1849 especially evoked accusations of indolence on the part of the Irish peasant.

In parliament the indolent tendencies of the Irish were also referred to with increased regularity as the Famine intensified. To Lord Clarendon:

The real difficulty . . . lies with the people themselves. They are always in the mud; and when they have screamed out to Hercules, they have no doubt about having done everything necessary for extricating themselves. Their idleness²³ and helplessness can hardly be believed.

But the House of Lords did not dwell to any great extent on the theme of Irish indolence; speeches made in the Lords were predominantly directed against Government policy.²⁴ However, in the House of Commons this was not the case. Here references to Irish 'slovenliness' and 'lack of enterprise' abounded. Lord Russell and J. L. Fox especially made many statements attacking the "unwillingness to exertion" and the "want of industry" as the basis for Ireland's condition.²⁵ "The unfortunate apathy," bemoaned Fox, "prevailed in all classes in Ireland--that want of self-exertion and self-reliance."²⁶ "What were the most prominent evils afflicting that country [Ireland]?" asked T. C. Anstey, Member for Younghall; "the want of industry in the peasantry and . . . the miserable state of cultivation prevailing," was his reply.²⁷

With the gradual passing of the Famine the concept of Irish indolence remained more firmly entrenched than ever

on the English mind. In 1851 John Bright, normally considered to have been very sympathetic towards Irishmen, noted that the problems besetting Ireland were at least partially abetted by "an absence of energy" in the people.²⁸ This entrenchment of the concept of Irish indolence was probably due, more than anything else, to the Great Famine. However, the tradition was also perpetuated by various commissioners on the 'condition of England' problem. Such a commission was that dealing with the labouring poor, in which it was noted that "the Irish never stay at their jobs for any length of time."²⁹ A commission on the Scottish poor also described the Irish of Edinburgh as basically "lazy and shiftless."³⁰

It would be impossible to measure the extent to which indolence came to be recognized as an inherent feature of the Irish character during the 1840's. The belief that most Irishmen required an increased willingness to self-exertion certainly predominated in parliament at this time. Sir Charles Wood's statement that "the people of Ireland must be taught, above all else, the virtues of working independently of Government assistance," may be taken as representative of the general mood of English parliamentarians.³¹ The task was not considered hopeless, for there was also an assumption that the Irish could, quite easily, be made to adhere to more energetic norms. Said the Earl of Clarendon in September, 1847, "I can already detect germs of progress A spirit of self-exertion and self-reliance, altogether new in Ireland, is manifesting itself," while the Marquess of Lansdowne

maintained that "the real regenerative principle for that part of the United Kingdom [Ireland] was to be found . . . in an awakened spirit of industry amongst the people themselves."³²

The conception of Irish indolence was expressed in many ways. During the 1840's such terms as 'lazy', 'slovenly', 'slothful' and 'unenterprising' were all frequently employed. Also, there were many negative attitudes expressed on the Irish which were closely associated with the belief in Irish sloth. Especially predominant of these was the tendency to portray the Irish as gullible and incapable of distinguishing quality. The 'Irish joke', something of a standard in Victorian England, generally depicted 'Paddy' as the dupe of superior reasoning.³³ In 1848 the Earl of Clarendon expressed that "in time I hope that England will create something like public opinion in Ireland."³⁴ The Irish were often regarded as incapable of self-discipline and simply willing to passively accept their miserable station. Said George Nichols, Poor Law Commissioner, "the intensity of the distress in Connaught . . . can be reduced . . . only by the increase of forethought and prudential habits of the people."³⁵ Suggestions of Irish imprudence were often made concerning the issue of 'repeal of the union' and were often expressed in reference to a supposed incapacity for self-government by the people of Ireland. The Irish were often regarded as childish in their dependency and uninventive in their employment.³⁶

Also frequently associated with the supposed lack of individual initiative in Ireland was a tendency to regard

the poverty and squalor, which was so much a way of life in Ireland and among the Irish population of Great Britain, as a facet of the Irish national character. Because, in Ireland, an improved condition often meant an increase in rent, the Irish were little motivated towards making themselves appear prosperous; indeed many of them had a vested interest in appearing as dirty and miserable as possible. The immigrants as well took little care to improve their outward appearance.³⁷

The identification of the Irish with squalor was made principally by the English Poor Law Commissioners, who invariably pronounced the areas where poverty was most acute—³⁸ the Irish slums—as the source of the overall urban misery. Commissioners in Ireland also made frequent equations between the Irish people and the filth which surrounded them. "The same masses of human filth, misery and nakedness, presenting themselves to every eye and soliciting from every hand" was the 1843 Poor Law Commission's description of the peasants of Tipperary.³⁹ Amongst the parliamentarians, Lord Campbell expressed as much when he referred to the "depressing scent of squalor and dirt in which the Irish habitually dwell."⁴⁰

Paradoxically the prevalent view of Irish squalor and indolence was, in the 1840's, matched by a widespread notion that Irishmen were rebellious and excitable by nature. G. M. Fagan's belief that there was a distinction to be noted "between the sturdy and determined character of the people of England, and the more excitable, irascible character

of the Irish" was much echoed.⁴¹ The tradition of rural disturbances and the frequency of religious hostilities in Ireland were most commonly cited as evidence of the unruly and riotous traits notable in Irishmen. By the 1840's conflicts between lower-class Englishmen and Irish immigrants, often competing for employment, also encouraged this view. Graham Speins, member of a select committee on railway labourers, expressed great indignation towards the "unruly and unprincipled" Irish immigrant, whom he blamed for causing most of the disturbances among the railway workers in England.⁴² Similar opinions were expressed in an 1846 report on Famine relief in which it was noted that "the Irish peasant, ever excited, ever quarreling," was invariably "furthering the pangs of his own misery . . . through constant display of . . . hideous outrage."⁴³

Although in parliament the Irish Question was a secondary issue from 1841 to 1843, references to Irish rebelliousness at that time were comparatively frequent. The Earl of Mountcashell claimed that "he knew the character of the Irish people," and that, "no people were more easily excited."⁴⁴ When the success of the O'Connellite agitation again vaulted the Irish Question into the forefront of English politics, allusions to the violent and unruly traits of the Irish were many. The Edinburgh Review reflected current opinion to a degree when it maintained that "all real law is an object of hatred to the mass of the Irish people."⁴⁵ The tendency was even further augmented once the Famine and the

increased rural outrage engendered by it had become general; indeed, during 1847-1848 the issue of 'protection of life and property' was the most discussed issue of the Irish Question within parliament. To many the Irish appeared, as they did to Lord Clarendon, as "the most ferocious people on earth."⁴⁶ To Mr. W. Sommerville, Member for Sterling, Ireland's "excitable population was roused almost to the verge of madness."⁴⁷

The rebellious Irishman was generally stereotyped by parliamentarians in either of two ways. There was a tendency to see him as boisterous, outgoing and loving to brawl; but there was as well an inclination to depict him as scheming and insidiously destructive. The Irish in England were generally noted for their impetuosity and rowdiness. "Brawling, drunken rabble" was the description offered by Edward Baines' Leeds Mercury on the Irish in northern England.⁴⁸

The Commissions on the state of Ireland tended to stress the systematization of the rural disturbances.⁴⁹ In parliamentary discussions both views of the Irish penchant to violence were prevalent. D. H. Howard, Member for Carlisle, declared that certain brawls amongst Irish sailors in the British navy were conducted in "typically Irish fashion", yet Sir George Grey also described a pre-meditated murder in Tipperary as having been carried out "in true Irish fashion."⁵⁰ Throughout the 1840's there is constant reference to "the system of crime which prevailed in Ireland."⁵¹ According to Lord Eliot, in Ireland "the great majority of the crimes arose

out of secret societies." ⁵² To many, crime itself seemed an Irish phenomenon. "The feeling entertained by the people is favourable to murder," said Sir William Verner. ⁵³ The Irish also seemed incapable of getting along with each other.

According to Viscount Morpeth:

There are two dark prevailing features of gloom which the whole past history of Ireland, and I fear I may say with equal truth its present aspect, offer to our consideration—the sufferings of her poor, and the dissensions of her inhabitants. The imperial administration has had the effect of neutralizing and softening animosities. ⁵⁴

Irish dissension was seen in the existing religious and political animosities; the English responsibility for such divisions was often overlooked. Sir George Grey spoke of someday "developing those resources which that country [Ireland] undoubtedly possess, but which have hitherto been rendered in a great measure fruitless, owing to the unhappy divisions, political and religious." ⁵⁵ Grantley Berkeley, Member for Bristol stated that "whether they looked upon the country in a religious or in a temporal view, they must see there was a feeling of great distrust and disaffection." ⁵⁶ Lord Palmerston too maintained that "it is this controversial feeling which poisons the Irish atmosphere; and until laws have changed manners, we may not expect to see any practical benefit from laws." ⁵⁷

It cannot be maintained that an association of rebelliousness with the Irish character was more firmly implanted at Westminster in 1852 than in 1841. The strife of the 1840's

merely re-affirmed, in the minds of parliamentarians, the long history of agrarian disturbances and religious quarreling, "the kind of agitation which had ever been the pest and curse of that unhappy country."⁵⁸

Associated with the theme of rebelliousness in parliamentary discussions of the Irish was a marked proclivity to describe Irishmen as wildly imaginative and superstitious. "Superstitious bigotry," commented Palmerston, "is at present too prevalent among the lower classes of the Irish people."⁵⁹ The 1844 report of the Poor Law (Ireland) Commissioners emphasized that "traditional superstitions" were usually a hinderance to the Irish adopting habits of practicality and economy.⁶⁰ This corresponded to a concept of emotional sentimentality which was also frequently associated with the Irish personality.⁶¹

The Irish were likewise characterized as being loud and loose of tongue. "Among the things that have stimulated and maddened the clever but all too excitable people of Ireland," claimed Henry Drummond, "we may enumerate that curse, 'an unruly tongue', which 'setteth on fire the course of nature, and is set on fire of Hell'.⁶²" Daniel O'Connell in particular was regarded as exemplifying this facet of the Irish character.⁶³

Drunkenness too was commonly regarded as an evil particularly prominent among Irishmen. "The master vice of Ireland," the Earl of Wicklow maintained, was drink, while John Bright, on several occasions, denounced the Irishman's

"susceptibility to spirits," and "love of drink."⁶⁴ Yet in the early 1840's there was a belief, substantiated by statistical analyses, that temperance was increasing in Ireland. The temperance movement of Father Mathew was acknowledged in parliament to have had surprising effect. Lord Fitzgerald spoke of the movement as "that great practical reform which produced. . . a growing increase of temperance."⁶⁵ However, the essential failure of Peel's duty on spirits in Ireland, which greatly augmented the practise of illicit distillation, was also noted as evidence of the Irish weakness for alcohol as well as crime.⁶⁶

There were other negative attitudes expressed towards Irishmen by parliamentarians during the 1840's with less regularity. According to The Quarterly Review, "the most prominent sin of the Irish peasantry is an habitual disregard to truth."⁶⁷ Proneness to theft, habitual lying, love of cruelty, and susceptibility to demagogery were other Irish vices. But there was also a positive delineation of the Irish character. As The Quarterly Review pointed out, the vices of the Irish were often closely connected to their virtues:

The Irish have naturally warm and excitable tempers; they are by their constitution, comparatively insensible to bloodshed, and indifferent to life; and under the influence of whiskey they become fearfully cruel. But their love of fighting does not destroy their natural kindness of heart It is an exciting amusement; and the amusement is not deprived of its charm to them by any sense of danger.⁶⁸

The Irishman, often the butt of jokes, was seen to be care-free and untroubled by trials generally besetting Englishmen. According to Blackwoods Magazine:

No peasant in Europe devotes so much of his time to amusement as does the Irishman. Go to places of public amusement or to the fairs and markets, in the busiest and most hurried seasons, and how many thousands you will see, who have no earthly business there but to meet friends, to laugh and chat, and (before Father Mathew reformed them) to drink and fight! ⁶⁹

A scene of amusement in the House of Commons was described by Viscount Althorp as "not unworthy of an Irish theatre." ⁷⁰ Several Poor Law Commission reports also depicted in idyllic terms the lack of worry and the extent of joyfulness among the Irish peasantry. ⁷¹

What some regarded as an Irish disposition towards laziness in the midst of poverty was seen by others as patience and power of endurance. G. M. Fagan, Member for Aylesbury, declared that "the people of Ireland were most patient and enduring. They were so because they were a religious people." ⁷² Viscount Morpeth maintained that the Irish "show some superiority in their kindness towards each other, and towards the suffering and the destitute, as well as signal patience and resignation under intense privation." ⁷³ Irish superstitiousness was not far removed from Irish religiosity. "The Irish peasantry are also a religious people," noted The Quarterly Review, "we may call it superstition—for superstition is the belief." ⁷⁴ Irish gullibility was occasionally interpreted as sincerity and generosity, while the 'primitiveness'

and 'childish' qualities of Irishmen were at times suggested as attractive alternatives to the drudgery and monotony of industrial England.⁷⁵ The concept of the 'noble savage' can be read into occasional descriptions of the Irish.

However, the Irishman in Early Victorian England was seldom regarded as possessing attractive personality traits. He was normally the subject of ethnocentric projection by the aristocracy, gentry and upper-middle classes from which the British parliamentarians were recruited. Smug indignation would best describe the general tone in which descriptions of the Irish were expressed.

Chapter III

Catholicism and the Irish

Popery has come to foster their evil tendencies—their fatalism, their reliance upon others, their indifference to life, their gregariousness, and their rash prodigality, instead of rousing them to exertions, encouraging a spirit of independence, making them reverent of truth and law—prudent and economical, while benevolent—and merciful without losing their courage.

1
—The Quarterly Review

Of all the factors which degraded the Irish in the minds of Early Victorian Englishmen, none was more detested or feared than the fact of Irish Catholicism. Popular apprehensions and hatred of Catholics drew from a tradition of anti-Catholicism in England which dated back to the Reformation. The prejudices were perpetuated partly through a misunderstanding of the beliefs of the Church of Rome, although such facets of Catholicism as the supremacy of the Pope, the invocation of saints, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, transubstantiation, and the extreme sacerdotal nature of the Christian ministry were contrary to the tenets of the Anglican Establishment as well as those of the Dissenting sects.

In the religiosity of the Victorian age, anti-Catholicism was a passionate attitude; it was intensified in reaction to the development of Tractarianism and, later, Ritualism within the Church of England. "To endow Popery in a land that has been rescued from its yoke," maintained John Plumptre, Member for East Kent, "is a madness little short of high treason against Heaven."² And yet, Catholicism continued to gain

strength. As Cardinal Newman pointed out, Catholicism was "the victim of a prejudice which perpetuates itself and gives birth to what it feeds upon."³ By 1850 English Catholicism was sufficiently strong to justify, in the mind of Cardinal Wiseman, the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England, which had been abolished in Tudor times.

The vast influx of Irishmen during the early nineteenth century increased the number of English Catholics.⁴ The Irish immigrants also gave Catholicism a new mobility, which furthered the intensity of Victorian anti-Catholicism. In general the English Catholics of the Early and Mid-Victorian period were much isolated from the main currents of public life. However, the bands of Irish labourers travelling throughout the rural and urban districts of Great Britain took their religion with them. Especially in the lowlands of Scotland did numerous religious battles take place between the Irish Catholics and the native Presbyterians. However, Protestant Operatives' Societies geared to counteract the intrusion of alien Catholic workingmen appeared in most English industrial centers as well. The most notorious incident was the Stockport riot of 1852, when the annual Sunday School procession of the local Catholics broke out into a bitter fight which lasted three days with much loss of life.⁵

Yet Irish Catholicism did remain distinct from English Catholicism in several ways. The Irish tended to possess a greater degree of blind acceptance in their theological views. They were also prone to see in Catholicism something

distinctly Irish, whereas the English Catholics of the nineteenth century often went out of their way to stress their loyalty to England.⁶ According to W. Herberg, there was a "fusion of religion and nationalism in the Irish mind. . . . To be a Catholic was to be a true Irishman; to be an Irishman was to be a true Catholic."⁷ The stubborn adherence of the Irish to a religion which many Englishmen considered to be the tool of anti-Christ served to diminish even further the Irish character in the mind of the Early Victorian political establishment. Often the attitudes expressed by British political figures towards other Catholic peoples, such as the French and the Spanish, approximated, though with less intensity, the English views on the Irish.

The Irish Question at Westminster was bound very close to Catholicism, and the attitudes of the Early Victorian political classes towards the Irish often reflected the parliamentarians' and commissioners' own religious inclinations and prejudices. As E. R. Norman points out, "the Irish Question . . . brought the Protestant tradition most frequently into the center of political life"⁸ Of all the major Catholic issues in parliament, only the question of Papal⁹ aggression in 1850-52 did not directly involve the Irish. The parliamentary commissioners were less prone than the parliamentarians to touch upon the Catholicity of the Irish, however much of the evidence which comprised the commission reports was given by Churchmen, who were naturally sensitive to the religious implications of the investigations.

The period from 1835 to 1841 had witnessed a running controversy in parliament on the issue of 'no Popery', the Conservatives declaring their adherence to the Protestant tradition and denouncing the 'Lichfield pact' as a selling out to Catholicism. As G. H. Cahill maintains:

Because of the close relationship between Protestantism and British nationalism, Conservative leaders, by treating the Irish Question as a religious one, could capitalize on the emotional complex which influenced the public mind.¹⁰

The Irish Protestant group (led by the Orange Order), the Evangelical Low Church party and a large portion of the English popular press clamored loudly against 'Popery' at this time.¹¹ And, as mentioned above, the Peel administration continued to treat the Irish Question as a religious issue until 1846.¹² However, by 1843, Peel had set out to reconcile Irish Catholicism to the political status quo. The Charitable Bequests Act of 1844 was the initial step in this policy which culminated in the Maynooth grant of 1845.

It was the question of Maynooth rather than the issue of the Corn Laws which split British Conservatism at this time. As the Quarterly Review reported, the Bill "destroyed the former landmarks of party."¹³ Peel, in attempting to govern by expediency, opened a tirade of emotional response both within and outside parliament, based upon religious convictions. T. B. Macaulay bemoaned, "the Orangeman raises his howl, and Exeter Hall sets up its bray."¹⁴ As early as February 20, 1845, the Protestant Association met at Exeter Hall to collect support in opposition to the Government's Maynooth policy.

Although the Maynooth grant was carried, this was done "over the protest of the British public."¹⁵ Only the 'No Popery' issue of 1850-52 approximated the intensity of the anti-Maynooth campaign.

The increased invective against the Catholics during the 1840's corresponded to a mounting hostility within parliament towards the Irish people. Viscount Palmerston acknowledged the growing trend:

The irritation and exasperation thence growing up in the public mind against the Catholic priesthood is extreme, and scarcely anybody now talks of Irish murders without uttering a fervent wish that a hundred priests might be hung forth with. . . ."16

Macaulay too expressed the same view to Viscount Althorp when he said, "that even such a small boon as providing glebehouses for the priests in Ireland could not have been advocated in Leeds without losing him a seat."¹⁷

Many direct connections were drawn between Irish social behavior and the Catholic clergy. According to Lord Farnham, "the whole tone of it [the Catholic priesthood] was calculated to arouse the worst passions of a misguided people."¹⁸ Sir George Nicholls, who introduced the Poor Law to Ireland, said that "it is impossible to mix with the Irish people without noticing the great influence of the clergy."¹⁹ In Ireland, the Poor Law Commissioners, who were invariably Protestants, frequently quarrelled with the Poor Law Guardians, who were usually Catholics. Lords Glengall and Montcashell believed the Guardians to have been "the mere tool of the priests

and agitators."²⁰ On the other hand, Smith O'Brien of Limerick declared that ". . . the Commissioners are known to them [the Irish poor] only as an authority which intervenes to curb whatever kindly disposition may be evinced towards them by the local Guardians."²¹ Not surprisingly, the evidence supplied to the Commissioners by the Guardians did not reflect an anti-Catholic bias, whereas occasional statements by the Commissioners themselves were mildly derogatory of the Catholic priesthood. In England too anti-Catholic statements in Government commission reports touching on the situation of the immigrant Irish were few and mildly worded, although definite association was made between the squalor and uncivilized behavior of the Irish, and the fact of their Catholicity.²²

The extent to which Catholicism actually contributed to Irish social behaviour was, of course, very great. The absence of a 'Protestant ethic' in Ireland may be overstressed, yet the activist spirit engendered by the Methodist revival in England contrasted sharply with the intellectual passivity stressed by the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland.²³ The Irish priest was a community leader in all affairs, political, social and spiritual. As W. Herberg maintains:

the priest was virtually the only man of education and standing in a peasant community . . . [and] the attitude of intense reverence for the clergy was very different indeed from the more relaxed attitude prevalent in England and on the continent.²⁴

His authority and the social doctrine which he preached provided the main source of discipline in rural Ireland. Consequently, the social philosophy of his flock was wholly

patterned upon the Catholic faith. It cannot be denied that much of the political agitation in Ireland, as in the case of the Repeal Association, was organized in the manner of the Catholic parochial and diocesan structure. Also, the more spontaneous expressions of discontent bore the imprint of the Catholic religious structure. Ribbonism especially, though condemned by the Irish clergy, functioned much as a Catholic organization without the religion.²⁵

On the whole, connections made between 'Catholic' and 'Irish' tended to crystalize and strengthen existing attitudes on the Irish personality. The Church of Rome appeared to stress unenlightened subservience from its adherents, a factor which reflected upon the affability and indolence of the Irish. Roman Catholicism was also suspected of inculcating vice and subversion. It was often regarded as the vehicle of a vast conspiracy to undermine the British constitution. Thus it intensified, in the English mind, the natural Irish traits of rebelliousness and disorder as well.

As mentioned, it was a prevailing Victorian concept that Catholicism demanded the complete subordination of its followers to the Holy See.

The liberty of Protestantism has been enjoyed too long in England to allow of any successful attempt to impose a foreign yoke upon our minds or consciences. No foreign prince or potentate will be at liberty to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion, civil, political, and religious.²⁶

Thus did Lord John Russell express himself to the Bishop of Durham in an open letter in The Times on November 7, 1850. Russell's apprehensions concerning the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England reflected a general fear. This concept of Catholic tyranny contributed much towards the view of spiritual, social and intellectual decay as having prevailed amongst the Irish people; Irish indolence was the natural consequence of Catholic autocracy. "The Roman Catholic, except in special cases, is prohibited from reading the Bible," stressed the "Anti-Maynooth Petition" of 1845, "and even then he must submit his judgement to the interpretation put on it by his Church."²⁷

A connection between the slovenliness of the Irish and their Catholicity was drawn by a certain Mr. Gulson in introducing the 1843 Report of the Poor Law (Ireland) Commissioners, when he maintained that "the desultory habits of the people are not discouraged by the priesthood."²⁸ Similar implications were made in the Commons by T. Urquhart, Member for Stafford:

When I look to Ireland—when I look to the distinct character of its different counties—to the relative condition of its divided population—when I see superiority and strength against inferiority and division—when I contrast the stern character and purpose of the united organization to the north with the total want at self-reliance or of mutual confidence in the population of the south—to say nothing of the property, station and influence—I can have no doubt that if tomorrow repeal were carried, Irish hunger would augment threefold.²⁹

In the House of Lords too, Lord Monteagle stressed that "the tenants are counselled into inactivity by their priests."³⁰

Catholicism, it was felt by many, was the arch-enemy of individualism. As a result, the gullible, slovenly, day-dreaming Irishmen corresponded well to the popular concept of a people held under the sway of 'Popery'.

Though despotic in nature, the Catholic Church was often considered to be a revolutionary body as well, preaching subversion and fostering political instability. It was presumed to be particularly obnoxious towards Protestant England. Although Benjamin Disraeli's opinion that "I have reason to disbelieve that the Roman Catholic priesthood can look with any fervour upon a Jacobin movement" was historically, correct, Catholicism and social turmoil were often equated, a fact which served to further entrench the prevalent view of Irishmen as rebellious and conspiratorial in nature.³¹ Mr. Horsman, Member for Cockermouth, illustrated this by his statement of 1848 that "he must state it as his opinion, whether right or wrong, that the whole Roman Catholic population of Ireland might be said to be in one great conspiracy."³² Lord Lorton too was of the opinion that "the conduct of the Catholic clergy had been much eulogized, but he believed that they were, to a man, Repealers."³³ Mr. Bateson, Member for Huntington, asked rhetorically of the Catholic clergy in Ireland:

Who were they who excited the peasantry in the south against the landlords—
who instilled into the minds of their flocks feelings, if not of hatred, at least of jealousy and suspicion, against

the English and especially the clergy
of the Established Church?³⁴

Lord Roden was perhaps the most vociferous denunciator of the Catholic religion as a revolutionary force. "Romish priests were addressing the crowds [in Armagh]," he exclaimed in 1843, "and tended to nourish in them a hatred towards England and towards the English."³⁵

It was thought that Catholicism encouraged a herd instinct, suppressing 'manly individuality'. Confession and absolution, ministered by the Catholic Church interfered with private moral responsibility. Lord Brougham, for example, said that

he did feel that the mere secrecy of the Confessional had a tendency most hurtful to morals, and practically leading to crime by lessening the horrors with which guilt was regarded by the criminal Confession and Absolution gave criminals confidence.³⁶

Throughout the debates on Irish disturbances, references were made to the "mystical powers" and "complete spiritual control" which the Catholic priests held over the Irish masses, and with which they goaded these masses into subversive activities.³⁷ Likewise, the English commissioners in Ireland occasionally connected rural disturbances to the Catholic faith. The 1839 Select Committee on rural outrages in Ireland maintained that the purpose of Ribbonism was

to overturn the British Government in Ireland, to subvert the Protestant religion, to recover the fortified estates, and, when strong enough, to establish an independent monarchy in Ireland under a Roman Catholic King.³⁸

In actuality, the Ribbon society possessed no clearly defined goals, and certainly did not aspire to establish a Catholic monarchy. Ribbonism, the White-boy clubs, and other revolutionary forces in Ireland evoked the firm condemnation of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland.³⁹ Nevertheless, rebellion and Irish Catholicism were constantly equated. "Pacify the Roman Catholics!" ejaculated Archbishop Blomfield:

Have we not abundant and melancholy proof of the utter futility of such efforts as these, in the way of pacification? . . . Pacify the Roman Catholics of Ireland! And do your Lordships still think they are to be pacified?⁴⁰

The Irish involvement in the Chartist movement also seemed to reflect a type of subversion akin to what was considered to be the revolutionary nature of Irish Catholicism.⁴¹

Other facets of Catholicism also served to fortify prevailing images of the Irish. The supposed Irish disposition to cruelty was strengthened by an association of the same perversion with Roman Catholicism. "They (Roman Catholic priests) in a multitude of cases, are the open, and fearless and shameless, instigators to disorder, to violence, and murder," said Palmerston; Lord Campbell declared that "crime, vice, and malice" were ever perpetrated by the "Popish orders".⁴² To many, nineteenth century Catholicism had its true expression in the militant Jesuitism and the Inquisition of preceeding centuries. As E. R. Norman points out, concerning the viciousness of Catholicism, "the numerous and lurid accounts of the savaging of Protestants during the Reformation, and the popular engravings of the terrors of the Inquisition, added

such proof as was thought necessary."⁴³ Likewise, Early Victorian suspicions of the idolatry and ritualism inherent in Catholicism were calculated to strengthen the concept of Irishmen as being superstitious and fanciful, while the licentiousness, considered to be a part of Catholicism, could only have furthered the association of vice and sin with the Irish. "Horror and filthiness" were the words used by George Smythe in describing the doctrines taught at Maynooth.⁴⁴ Drunkenness especially was thought to be a folly peculiar to the Irish and condoned by the Catholic religion.⁴⁵

However, Catholic degradation and the Irish character were not unanimously held in combination by Early Victorian parliamentarians. There were few individuals so strongly committed to an anti-Catholic position and yet so sympathetically aware of the degraded social condition of Ireland as Lord Ashley, who said:

What is the cause of it? . . . Is it the religion? Yet I do not find however faulty, superstitious, idolatrous, may be their belief and practice, that any physical incapacity is necessarily connected with it; in many heathen nations there may be found much temporal prosperity, and the Tuscan farmers and peasantry show by their high cultivation and general comfort that indolence and barbarism are not inevitably the consequence of Popery.⁴⁶

Palmerston too, despite his anti-Catholicism and antipathy towards the Irish peasantry, supported the Maynooth grant, maintaining that

our only choice is between six million men in comparative ignorance, and in consequent bigotry and superstition,

or endeavoring to enlighten them, and
 at least make them good Catholics if
 we cannot make them Protestants⁴⁷

Some facets of Catholicism indeed contrasted with what were considered to be the fundamental traits of Irishmen. Certainly the reserved and meditative aspects of Catholic worship did not conform to the supposed recklessness of the Irish temperment. Many English Catholic prelates regarded the Irish as too fierce and emotional. In the Tablet for 1847, Lord Shrewsbury wrote that he was "completely overpowered and deprived of all defence by the conduct of some members of the priesthood," meaning certain Irish priests.⁴⁸ He added:

Denunciations from the altar, . . . followed by the speedy death of the denounced, and public speeches of the most dangerous tendency to an inflammatory people, are the melancholy accusations to which I am unable to reply.⁴⁹

The conservative ethos, often implied by the idea of Catholicism, was likewise contrary to the Early Victorian concept of the Irish temperment. Also, the stately and peaceful nature of Catholic architecture and decor was geared to detract from the presumed unruliness of Irishmen.

But the dissociations between 'Catholic' and 'Irish' was uncommon in parliament. They were both generally considered to be of the same social, spiritual and political substance. Yet there was much disagreement as to the degree of influence which they exerted on each other. Indeed during the 1840's it was an issue whether the Catholic religion was responsible for the Irish temperment, or the Irish temperment debased the functioning of Catholicism.⁵⁰

Depend on this—the difficulty does not lie with the Irish nation; the difficulty lies with the sacerdotal and monkish orders, who, reversing the piety of Aaron, stand between the living and the dead congregation,

said Lord Ashley, in some contrast to his earlier statement.⁵¹

Speaking against the national system of education in Ireland, Viscount Palmerston implied a similar point of view, maintaining that the principles of Catholicism would

allow the Irish to do injustice to their own naturally kind and social disposition—which changes their natural loyalty into abject submission to a demagogue and their naturally strong religious feelings into superstitious and gross bigotry.⁵²

To Lord Brougham, however, Catholicism was a beneficent force in Ireland. Brougham stated that "he believed the priests [of Ireland] were men of respectable lives and character."⁵³ H. Herbert, Member for Wiltshire, declared:

If the people were to obey the instructions of the Catholic clergy [of Tralee] which enjoined them to shake off the torpers of their character, and turn their attention to the development of the soil, their condition would be far better.⁵⁴

Concerning certain outrages in Tipperary in 1842, Lord Eliot also spoke in favor of the Catholic priesthood: "He should hear testimony to the praiseworthy conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy. They had denounced the outrages in the strongest possible manner."⁵⁵ The Marquess of Normanby too stated that "while acting as Lord Lieutenant he had received the most effective assistance from the Catholic priests," and he further maintained, "it appeared by the evidence that the

Catholic priesthood did all they could to discourage these
 [Ribbon] societies."⁵⁶

It was thus a matter of some dispute whether Catholicism was an expression of the Irish character. But most considerations of the two depicted them as simply complementary. The Quarterly Review expressed such an outlook:

One of the most remarkable features of the Irish is the entire unresisting faith, which places the poor Irish peasant at the foot of his priest, without requiring any of these moral qualifications, on which a religious mind would naturally rest. . . . Popery has adopted its usual policy of allowing man's natural disposition its full indulgence; not perhaps directly and obviously inculcating errors—the worst errors at least—in its formularies, so much as permitting them, and creating fallacies for their own promulgation; and satisfied with the toleration of any abuses so long as the one condition is observed, of obedience to the priest.⁵⁷

It was felt by some, especially the Anglo-Irish landlords, that the Irish were naturally inclined towards passive loyalty, and that this inherent submissiveness had unfortunately been captured by the Roman Catholic Church. The Marquess of Devonshire maintained that he "regretted the part played by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Roman Catholic clergy"⁵⁸ in the Repeal agitation of 1843. He went on to point out:

That in the present state of the population he was sure that if the peasantry of Ireland were left to themselves, they would not be found disposed to violence. On the contrary the peasantry were disposed to respect their superiors, and to support their landlords, and all those whom they conscientiously considered their natural superiors.⁵⁹

G. M. Fagan declared that passive loyalty was a feature of the Irish, although he regarded this as a positive trait:

The people of Ireland were most patient and enduring. They were so because they were a religious people. . . . He would affirm that no nation on the face of the earth would have endured with so much patience, starvation and destitution. . . . The Catholic clergy in Ireland were the link which bound that country to England. He believed that their instruction and teaching kept the people of Ireland tranquil and submissive to the law.⁶⁰

But Roman Catholicism and the Irish temperment were most often considered components of a great evil, the perversion of God and the antithesis of the English way of life.

Chapter IV

How the Attitudes Varied Amongst the Parliamentarians

The agitators deprived the people of that country of the expenditure of their own natural protectors, the landlords of the country.

1
--The Earl of Wicklow

The Irishman was not treated as a free man, and therefore it cannot be expected that he would act as a free man.

2
--John Hurne, Member for Montrose

The Early Victorian political classes were divided into a number of divergent parties and cliques. Factions, based upon ideological, religious and social differences gave to parliament a mosaic of opinion. Even within the ranks of the two traditional parties many incongruities occurred. Especially during the mid-1840's deep political cleavages appeared which doomed the Whigs and Tories as effective political units. To some extent, the attitudes expressed by the Early Victorian political establishment towards the Irish varied according to the make up of the parties and factions which comprised parliament at this time.

The disruption of the Tory party occurred in 1846. Although the immediate issue in dispute was the Corn Laws, an irreparable split was occasioned by the Maynooth crises of 1845.³ It is not surprising, therefore, that 'Tory' attitudes towards the Irish people lacked uniformity. Nevertheless, strong in their denunciation of the Lichfield pact, the Tories

generally expressed greater antipathy towards the Irish character than the Whigs. Of the key figures in the Tory party at this time, only Sir Robert Peel was not prone to deride the Irish.⁴ In fact, Peel often spoke in apology of the Irish temperment. When expressing his views on the Famine outrages of 1847, he declared:

It is quite unfair to impute to Ireland generally crimes of this nature; it is most unjust to judge the general disposition of Ireland from the iniquities of particular districts. . . . Nothing can be more unjust than to judge the general character of the people of Ireland from those⁵plague-spots which have been mentioned.

But Peel's opinions were not those of other leading Tories. Even Sir James Graham, who echoed Peel's political views so closely, once declared, "if only the Irish themselves were disposed to the welfare of Ireland . . . the Government's efforts would find some reward."⁶

Despite their general dislike of the Irish, the principal Tories of the 1840's did not hold similar views as to what features were particularly detestable, or what anomalies were responsible for Irish social behavior. The leading Tory in the House of Lords was the Duke of Wellington. According to Wellington, "the people of Ireland are most trait-⁷erous . . . they are easily moved by the calls of rebellion." Wellington's reply, when asked whether or not he considered himself to be an Irishman is also well known.⁸ Lord Stanley too was very critical of the Irish people. According to Viscount Althorp, Lord Stanley "never understood the Irish

character, and he certainly looked at the worst side of it." Stanley often declared against what he felt was a basic "dis-respect for the law" in Ireland, and "the susceptibility of the Irish demagogy."¹⁰ "The law in Ireland must be feared before it can be obeyed," he maintained in November, 1847, while the following year he stated, "I attach at least as much importance to the timidity and the fears as to the culpability and the participation of the population [in the outrages]."¹¹ He was also upset by "Irish extravagance," declaring against "that spirit of lavish expenditure apparently inherent in Irish functionaries."¹²

It was general for the principal Tories to see the religious question as basic to all others in Ireland. In a lengthy expose of what he believed to be responsible for the social evils of Ireland, Lord Ellenborough stated:

Unless they improved the social state of Ireland, everything they could do for the improvement of the land would be of no avail. There was no country in the world, pretending to civilization of which the social state was so bad as Ireland. But it was not in the Protestant part of Ireland that the disorganization of her social state existed. Yet there was nothing in the character of the Roman Catholic religion that ought of necessity to lead to the disorganization of the social state which was found in Ireland. Neither was it because Ireland was a conquered country, nor because large portions of the lands of that country had been confiscated, nor because there had existed in that country for many years laws of prosecution. . . . What, he would ask, was there still in the state of Ireland—for there must be something peculiar—which produced this anomaly in its social state, such as

never did exist, nor ever could exist, in any other country in the world? It was that the church of the great majority of the people was repudiated by the state.¹³

However, Lord Ellenborough's defence of the Catholic religion was not typical. Lord Wharncliffe, who was also very critical of the Irish national character, expressed a more common attitude when discussing ribbonism in 1844. "It was known that these societies were almost exclusively confined to Catholics," he maintained, ". . . that they were Roman Catholics was the most probable from the nature of the crimes."¹⁴ However, he stated as well that "the only remedy for such evils must be found in the altered feelings of the people. . . . There unhappily remained evil dispositions, productive of crime."¹⁵

Although the attitudes expressed by the leading Tories towards the Irish were often inconsistent, aside from a general dislike of the Irish temperment, greater unity prevailed among lesser Tories. In general it was felt by the rank and file Tories that the Irish were a naturally emotional, though amenable people. In November, 1847, Sir Shafto Adair, Member for Cambridge, declared:

When he thought of the scenes that had been enacted in Ireland lately, believing as he did (and he took the early opportunity of expressing that belief), what a great, what a noble, what an easily guided people the Irish were, still when he heard of the murders, the assassinations, that were perpetrated there, his heart positively sickened.¹⁶

The following year, Harold Herbert stated that "he discounten-

anced the idea, which the Irish seem to entertain—that everything was to be done by legislation. Would legislation make an idle tenant industrious and honest?"¹⁷ It was customary for the Tories to stigmatize the Catholicity of the Irish. "All right thinking men were opposed to the Roman Catholic structure of Ireland," said George Woodehouse, Member for East Norfolk maintaining that it "sent its heralds of sedition into the remotest parts of Ireland."¹⁸

The Quarterly Review, the principal Tory journal,¹⁹ reflected similar views on the Irish throughout the 1840's. The articles in this publication dealing with Ireland described the Irish people as being, on the whole, excitable and imaginative, yet naturally loyal and devout. In The Quarterly Review for 1841, an article entitled "Sketches of the Irish Peasantry" discerned a pattern of traits supposedly typical of the Irish. It was first of all maintained that

we believe much of this waste and disappointment might be avoided, if it was remembered at first that Englishmen and Irishmen are formed with very different temperments, and require different treatment. . . . It will never be possible, and perhaps is not desirable, to make their characters bear to each other more than a sisterly resemblance.²⁰

The article went on to advocate an approach to the social problems of Ireland which may be regarded as generally Tory. It called for a paternalistic attitude towards the Irish people, especially by the landlords, maintaining that the Irish peasantry were not suited for self-guidance and desired strong leadership from their 'natural superiors'.

In the first place then, whereas the mode of influencing Englishmen is through their heads, by appealing to an ambition, and desire of comfort and advancement, not altogether free from selfishness, the way to govern an Irish peasant is through his heart. He must have someone to look up to, to love and devote himself to, and then he may be governed and educated. . . . For this reason, until something of the principle of feudalism is restored in Ireland, the Irish peasantry will be like the wasp, which the experimenting entomologist cut in two, and saw the body and wings wandering blindly about the table in order to find the head.²¹

There were frequent allusions to the childlike qualities of the Irish as well as to their religiosity.

Creatures as they are of impulse, feeling and imagination—credulous as children—timid and indolent, and conscious of their own weakness, except when nerved by some occasional inspiration—throwing themselves out of themselves upon external objects, and resting on any arm but their own for support and guidance—religion in some shape or another must rule their lives.²²

Subsequent issues of The Quarterly Review echoed corresponding conceptions of the Irish character. However, a marked increase in maliciousness can be detected in the commentaries on the Irish as the intensity of the Famine and the number of rural outrages increased. In a particularly scathing attack upon the Irish in 1846, an article entitled "An Account of Corn Exported from Ireland During the Alleged Famine" maintained that "the Celtic people possess a deep desire to rest upon the productive capacities of others."²³

The following year The Quarterly Review stated:

In the first place, it must be observed that there is some predisposition—nay, a steep declivity—in the Irish national character both to sloth and turbulence, to laziness and outrage; and there is abundant evidence in old times, and flagrant notoriety in our own day, that these unhappy quarrels are fostered and exaggerated by the influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood—the only influence or authority we confidently assert, that exists, or has, we believe, ever existed over the minds of the great Roman Catholic mass of Irish population.²⁴

By 1848, the journal was even disposed to ease its blame of the Whig administration:

It is certain that the social condition of the Irish people gives a color to the charge of maladministration with those who do not consider that this social condition arises from causes over which governments have at best an indirect influence only, and generally no control at all. These causes are, first—the national temper of the people, which . . . they derive from their Celtic ancestors. . . . At present we only observe that this aboriginal disposition—the results of which are what peculiarly strike strangers visiting Ireland and a conviction of the misery of the people—is certainly not attributable to British misgovernment.²⁵

It was one of the main features of Tory opinion on Ireland that the immature and uncivilized qualities of the Irish warranted the maintenance of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy. In arguing for the continuance of "feudalism" in Ireland, The Quarterly Review qualified this stand by presenting the Conservative concept of paternalistic, responsible landlordism:

By the principle of feudalism we mean but the principle that property has its duties as well as its rights, and that the master of the soil should stand to

his tenants as much as possible in a fatherly, and almost regal relation, as their best friend, protector, and their guide.²⁶

Blackwoods Magazine, another journal reflecting Tory opinion, presented a similar opinion:

In those parts of Ireland in which there are no resident gentry to employ them, to set them an example, and to enforce a respect for the law, the peasantry indulge in idleness, and engage in politics. They work at home only when it suits their convenience or inclination, and from others they can only procure work (at prices for which they will work) in the harvest and spring. . . . During the nights they play cards for geese, turkeys or herrings, attend dances, where they are enrolled and sworn into secret societies, and devote some time to the wrecking of the houses, or the castigation of persons who are obnoxious to them. In the daytime you find them at places of public resort or amusement, or lazily or listlessly strolling about those miserable abodes.²⁷

It was this stand which marked Tory views on the Irish apart from the general Whig approach, which tended to stress that the immaturity of the Irish people warranted encouragement of their initiative.

Another of the principal features of English Conservatism in the 1840's was the assertion of English patriotism. Tory political figures were usually prone to glorify the 'Anglo-Saxon race'. The negative side of this English patriotism was a derision of other ethnic cultures, among which the Irish were singled out for special contempt. Of the arch-patriots in the Tory party, few were as outspoken as Henry Drummond. Drummond was a staunch advocate of monarchical

government and the English aristocracy; he was also most vociferous in his denunciations of the Irish people and the Catholic religion. "The Irish priests," he reasoned in a letter to Peel, "must be the leaders and encouragers of the bad passions of the people."²⁸ On the subject of Maynooth education, he maintained:

Now put this chain of instruction together, not doctrines, but only pious opinions, for the hot-headed, starving, excitable Irish rabble . . . you know in how many instances murder has been followed upon persons being²⁹ denounced from the altars in Ireland.

Drummond, along with Disraeli, led the Conservative attack on Peel during both the Maynooth and the Corn Law debates, and when the Tory party had split, his arraigns on the Peelites were equally vicious.

Drummond had come to exert much influence upon the Young England group of Tories, and especially upon Benjamin Disraeli.³⁰ The claim that Toryism represented the English nation was emphasized more strongly by Young England than any other group of Conservatives at this time. It was also the Young Englanders who proved to be amongst the most severe in their attacks upon the Irish as a race.³¹ "The bane of England and the opprobrium of Europe" was Disraeli's description of the Irish.³² "Their history," he maintained, "describes³³ an unbroken circle of bigotry and blood."

Disraeli was particularly vehement about Daniel O'Connell. In an open letter to the Times, Disraeli accused O'Connell of existing "out of the pale of civilization."³⁴

"I am not," he went on, "one of those public beggars that we see swarming with their obtrusive boxes in the chapels of your creed, nor am I in possession of a princely revenue from a starving race of fanatical slaves."³⁵ As late as 1868 Disraeli revealed his belief that "High Church ritualists and the Irish followers of the Pope have long been in secret combination."³⁶ George Smythe and Baillie Cochrane were also at odds with the Irish temperment, Smythe maintaining that "Irish filth and Irish vice" were responsible for many of the urban problems³⁷ of the time.

Quite contrary to the anti-Irish assertions of Young England were the general views of the Anglo-Irish Tories. Of the 'Irish interest' in the House of Lords during the 1840's the vast majority were Tories.³⁸ Indeed, the Conservative majority was so strong that Lord Langford lamented, "no liberal can hope to be elected."³⁹ Sir Robert Peel's policy of conciliation towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland met with violent opposition from the ultra-Tory Irish aristocrats, as did his minor program of Government relief during the Great Famine.⁴⁰ However, for obvious reasons, there was seldom any strong reference made by the Irish Tory Peers to the derogatory social traits of the Irish as being inherent features of their race. Indeed, the qualities of the Irish race were frequently applauded. Lord Farnham maintained that "the Irish were a very quick and intelligent people, and did not require, like the English, matters to be clearly and explicitly demonstrated to them before they could comprehend them."⁴¹

The Earl of Wicklow also commented that "the people of that country [Ireland] were a shrewd and discerning people."⁴² The overt hostility of the Irish Tory Peers was directed almost exclusively to the government at Westminster and the Catholic religion.⁴³

The Irish Tory aristocrats nevertheless did tend to see certain social traits as predominating amongst their peasantry. The Irish masses were, on the whole, regarded as excitable and prone to commit acts of crime. As the Earl of Fontescue said in 1842, "the constabulary returns are pretty sure indications of the temperment and disposition of the mass of the people."⁴⁴ That same year the Earl of Glengall stated that "he looked upon the whole of these outrages as the result of a general conspiracy against the authorities and laws of the land and against all social order."⁴⁵ Yet the Irish were also viewed as lazy. "The people cannot possibly undertake to restructure the estates in Ireland," said the Earl of Londonderry,⁴⁶ "their incapacity for work is astounding." The Irish priests were generally singled out for special wrath, as having counselled disobedience, laziness and drink, although certain landlords, notably Lord Cloncurry and the Earl of Wicklow, spoke in praise of the influence exerted by the Catholic priesthood.⁴⁷

Although it suffered no outward split during the 1840's, the Whig party was also ideologically fragmented. However, the composite factions were less clearly defined than those of the Tory party.⁴⁸ The Irish Whig Peers con-

stituted a definite, self-centered clique within the party, yet unlike their Tory counterparts they never openly revolted against party leadership. Likewise, what may be broadly termed the 'free-enterprise' element within the Whig party often spoke and voted contrary to the wishes of Whig leaders; but here too the differences never amounted to rebellion. The old Whig ascendancy was gradually losing its hold on party policy during the 1840's, yet the later emergence of the Liberal party was facilitated by a transformation which may be seen as evolutionary when compared to the outright break-up of Tory ranks.

In general, the leading Whigs were less pre-occupied with the Catholic religion than the Tories. Even Lord John Russell appears to have been far more concerned with the lethargy and docility of the Irish than the fact that most of them were Catholics. The Whigs tended to believe that the Irish were capable of social and moral improvement. As Russell maintained, in defining his Irish policy in July, 1848, he intended

to change the state of society—to induce the people to look for a better condition—to put all classes in Ireland into that state of harmony with one another that the progress of society towards civilization, towards wealth and prosperity, shall be rapid and uninterminable.⁴⁹

But such improvement would require the cooperation of the Irish themselves. As Russell continued:

The grievances which are frequently referred to are not as such as to prevent the progress of the Irish

people, provided they would exert themselves manfully to attain that station and condition in society, by industry and attention to their own immediate pursuits; which the freedom of our constitution allows them to reach—if using the intelligence they possess to a remarkable degree.⁵⁰

Earl Grey too supported this position. Speaking against the program of Government relief during the Famine, he suggested that such a policy "had the evil of tending to foster in the minds of the people of Ireland a dependence upon others than themselves."⁵¹ On the subject of the Irish Poor Law, Lord Eliot maintained that "he looked on the workhouses as a great boon to the country, . . . The discipline there enforced must have a beneficial effect on the character of the people."⁵² "Private charity," Eliot continued, "unfortunately leads . . . to mendicancy, with its attendant evils."⁵³ Thomas Babington Macaulay, the most renowned Whig spokesman of the day, said that "in Ireland there is to be witnessed a fundamental absence of the personal energy . . . by which a happier social state would be achieved."⁵⁴

Other leading Whigs were prone to emphasize the rebellious nature of the Irish. According to Earl Grey, "the root disease" which "existed in the minds of the [Irish] people was . . . their determination not to support the law."⁵⁵ He added:

The disease was too deeply rooted to be cured by mere coercion. Until the disposition of the population was altered, and the people made friendly to the law, no effectual cure could be applied to the present deplorable state of society.⁵⁶

Sir George Grey likewise noted that the Irish exhibited a "rowdiness", and declared that John Mitchel's United Irishman appealed "to the fancies of an imaginative people . . .," while Lord Clarendon, in voicing his disapproval of Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland in 1849, confessed that he "shuddered . . . when one considers how much might have gone wrong in bringing the Sovereign and this excitable people into communion together. . . ."⁵⁷ The most vocal of the Whig leaders who saw the Irish as a rebellious people was Lord Palmerston. "They are really a good and simple-minded people," he said, "though they quarrel with each other without any end or reason, and get joyously drunk whenever they lose a relation or friend."⁵⁸ He later expressed his opinion that "the whole people are by the ears, like an undisciplined pack of hounds."⁵⁹ Palmerston was also the most violent anti-Catholic amongst the prominent Whigs. Speaking of the proposed Queen's College at Belfast, he stated:

What the Catholic priesthood wants is that this Catholic college should be the only place of education for the young Irish Catholics, and that it should be, like Maynooth, a place where the young men should be brought up to be bigoted in religion, to feel for Protestants theological hatred, and to feel political hatred for England.⁶⁰

In 1847 he said that the Irish priests, "in a multitude of cases, are the open, fearless, and shameless instigators to disorder, to violence, to murder"⁶¹

Nevertheless, Irish indolence appears to have been of more concern to the principal Whig politicians than Irish

rebelliousness or Irish Catholicity. This was true of many lesser figures in the Whig party as well. Viscount Morpeth frequently expressed his belief in Irish laziness, maintaining "I certainly think that to attain that regeneration, . . . they [the Irish] must try to acquire more of the Saxon qualities of activity and industry."⁶² J. L. Fox declared that the reason for Irish docility lay in "their never having been trusted with the power of exerting their own energies,⁶³ but having always been subject to the control of others." Viscount Jocelyn, on the other hand, believed "the peasantry did not exert themselves, because they were not allowed to reap the fruits of their labour."⁶⁴ A. S. O. Stafford, Member for Northamptonshire, also criticized Irish indolence, declaring that the Government relief program "was accustoming the Irish people to the fatal practice of trusting to England for more help instead of helping themselves; which he believed to be the greatest error that could have been devised."⁶⁵ He maintained that "experience had shown" that the program had "discouraged the exertions, and augmented the poverty, misery and helplessness of the people."⁶⁶

The liberal section of the Whig party tended to stress, to a greater extent than most, the unassertiveness of the Irish. In an article on "Ireland in 1843", Nassau Senior depicted three moral evils as having prevailed in Ireland:⁶⁷ insecurity, ignorance and indolence.

The insecurity of person and property arises from the tendency to violence and resistance to law which is the most prominent, as well as the most

mischievous, part of the Irish character. It is this quality which most distinguishes Ireland from Great Britain.

As for ignorance, Senior pointed out:

What can be greater proof of ignorance than a systematic opposition to law, carried on at the constant risk of liberty and of life The ignorance, however, which marks the greater part of the population of Ireland, is not merely ignorance of the moral and political tendency of their conduct . . . but ignorance of the businesses which are their daily occupations. 29

Senior implied that insecurity and ignorance were inherent features of the Irish. Irish indolence, however, was derivative; it was "not so much an independent source of evil, as the result of the combination of all others." 70 He went on to show, in accordance with the free-enterprise doctrine, his reason why the Irish tended towards slovenliness. "All who have compared the habits of the hired artisans, or the agricultural labourers in Ireland, with those of similar classes in England and Scotland, admit the inferiority in industry of the former," he maintained. 71 "The indolence of the Irish labourer arises . . . principally from his labour being almost always day-work, and in a great measure a mere debt— a mere mode of working out his rent. 72 Senior continued to deride the archaic system of land tenure in Ireland, and to advocate the introduction of laissez-faire.

The liberal-Whig view of Irish laziness was supported for the most part by The Edinburgh Review, the leading Whig publication. However, the general tone of this journal varied

considerably over the period 1841-52. In 1842, an Edinburgh writer noted that in England

The Irish are an excitable people. . . . They love to feast on golden visions, and are not easily to be convinced that labour is not in great demand in their sister country . . . and of the beggars in England, none are so resolute, so importunate, and so successful as Irish beggars. They will weep, laugh, scold, run, jump, sing, walk without shoes, and almost without clothes, sleep anywhere, eat anything, and still neither pine nor die.⁷³

The carefree, emotional Irishman depicted above contrasts somewhat with the Irish temperament described in 1844, when it was maintained that "all the bad passions and mischievous prejudices of her [Ireland's] people have been enflamed and strengthened," by the O'Connellite agitation.⁷⁴ "The bulk of the people of Ireland are united in blind subservience to a single leader," the report on Ireland continued, "and they believe that leader to be utterly unscrupulous."⁷⁵ This view of the rebellious Irishman in turn contrasts with the description offered in 1851:

The essential apathy predominating among Irishmen is most appalling. Their filth and dirt become a part of them simply because of their reluctance to be clean. . . . The horrors of the past famine were greatly increased by the slovenly nature of the Irish people.⁷⁶

More than any other characteristic, slovenliness was singled out as a marked feature of Irish life.

The conservative wing of the Whig party, the Anglo-Irish Whig Peers, were far less rigid in their conception of Irish indolence, although the Marquess of Lansdowne's state-

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ment that "it was of prime importance to place the industrial man in Ireland in a situation of security" seems to have been a consensus.⁷⁷ In fact, the Irish Whig element in the House of Lords appears to have been comparatively open-minded to the whole situation of the Irish peasantry. Earl Fitzwilliam called for the Government to "take off from the shoulders of the people the burden of supporting the Roman Catholic Church, by establishing that church and paying it from the resources of the state," while the Marquess of Clanricarde said he "would accent that there was not on the face of the earth a people more warm in their domestic relations or more faithful, upright or virtuous in all relations than the Irish people."⁷⁸

Lord Lansdowne held a similar view:

When I consider what the population of Ireland is—the tendency to excess which it has, from various causes, for a long time exhibited—the circumstances which keep a large portion of the population in ignorance, and in a state of incapacity for weighing the questions which are submitted to their consideration—when I know that there is in that country an inferiority as compared with the other parts of the kingdom in wealth . . . I do feel that something might be said of those classes of ignorant persons who are thus led away.⁷⁹

He also stressed that in the Famine months of 1847

the inhabitants, for the most part, conducted themselves with a degree of patience, fortitude and heroism, all the more honourable because of the dreadful privations and sufferings they have had to endure.⁸⁰

In general, the Irish Whig Peers supported Russell's policy of Famine relief, but were also in favour of the Coercion

Bill of 1848.

Though not constituting a definite party within parliament, Radical politicians of the 1840's comprised a body of like-minded individuals.⁸¹ The English Radicals were generally in sympathy with the plight of the Irish, and especially supported Irish land reform; however they seldom expressed attitudes towards the Irish as a race of people. One exception was John Bright, who believed the Irish to be "the cheeriest and most carefree" of people.⁸² Bright harboured a deep desire to have justice done for Ireland, and according to Herman Ausubel, no English figure in parliament had more Irish admirers than he.⁸³ Many other Radicals saw the Irish as much an economic class as distinctive race. R. J. Holyoake stressed that the Irish "willingly preached distrust of the middle classes."⁸⁴

Although less clear-cut in its views, The Westminster Review tended to regard the Irish as an easy-going people. "The people of Ireland have cheerfully endured the hardships of agricultural depression throughout the centuries," it was noted in 1842.⁸⁵ Yet, a distaste for the impracticality of the Irish can also be detected in the reporting of The Westminster Review. "Can they not see the causes of their distress?" asked one writer in 1847.⁸⁶ Two years later another contributor put forward a suggestion for improving the state of Ireland:

Only by substantially educating the people of Ireland can a permanent cure for the ills ever plaguing that distressed island be achieved. . . .

A spirit of enterprise cannot flourish in a land where the people know as industry only meek and primitive methods of farming.⁸⁷

Blame for the depressed state of Ireland was placed by The Westminster chiefly on aristocratic mismanagement; in this it followed general radical opinion. As John Bright wrote, "here we have in perfection the fruits of aristocratic and territorial usurpation and privilege."⁸⁸

The attitudes of the English Radicals towards the Irish aristocracy reflected views held by the British public in general; and within parliament, pronouncements on the Irish people were often accompanied by scathing attacks upon their landlords. Especially during the Famine months of 1847 and 1848 did the Anglo-Irish landlords bear a tirade abuse from English parliamentarians for their mismanagement of Ireland. Indeed, the Whig and Tory attacks on each other were far less intense than the general antipathy expressed towards the Irish aristocracy. But the national character of Ireland was also seen as a contributing factor to Famine distress. Although the greatest sympathy was often voiced towards the plight of the Irish tenantry, their alleged indolence and stupidity were generally held as equally responsible for their physical state as the tyranny and ineptitude of their landlords.

Chapter V

The Question of Race Prejudice

The original condition of the Irish peasantry was serfdom. . . . English law raised them from this condition, and gave them the rights of Englishmen. But no law on earth could give the Celt the industry, frugality, or perseverance of the Englishman. The result was that the English artificer, husbandman and trader became men of property, while the Celt lingered out life in the idleness of his forefathers.

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--Blackwoods Magazine

The degree to which the attitudes of the British political classes towards the Irish were prejudiced is difficult to ascertain. For by all indications the Irish in Early Victorian times were in fact what many Englishmen accused them of being: slothful, filthy and rebellious. In some sections of parliament the Irish personality was not regarded as essentially dissimilar to that of the Anglo-Saxon; indeed the Irish seem to have epitomized what most upper and middle class Englishmen considered especially detestable in the lower orders of British society. Drunkenness, indolence, proneness to violence were all traits consistently attributed to English slum inhabitants. Indeed it was implied by some parliamentarians, and particularly by many Poor Law Commissioners, that the Irishman was merely the worst type of English citizen.²

Nevertheless the Irish were generally considered to be a distinct race of beings with a distinct social disposition. Though few held such outspoken racial theories as Robert Knox, his delineation of the Celtic mentality was illustrative of a general belief:

Quick in perception, but deficient in depth of reasoning power; headstrong and excitable; tendency to oppose; strong in love and hate; at one time lively, soon after sad; vivid in imagination; extremely social, with a propensity for crowding together; forward and self-confident; deficient in application to deep study, but possessed in great concentration in monotonous or purely mechanical occupations, such as hop-picking, reaping, weaving etc.; want of prudence and foresight; antipathy to see-faring pursuits . . . veneration for authority.³

However, concepts on the relationships between the genetic and social features of the human species were extremely vague at this time; post-Darwinian theories on race were much more rigid. For example, Lord John Russell once referred to "the race of Catholics," while such phrases as 'a race of kings' were common.⁴ In parliament constant reference was made to reforming the Irish character, which at least acknowledged that Irishmen could be changed. Said B. Haws, Member for Lambeth, "to the slow and gradual progress of reform among the people of Ireland, parliament can look for a more durable improvement in their character."⁵ Lord Stanley also expressed as much when he maintained that only "when the morals of the Irish are improved"⁶ can a solution to the Irish problem be attained.

It was also thought in some quarters that Irish national traits could be re-directed into usefully functioning channels. According to The Quarterly Review:

English notions, not exclusive and not carried too far, but introduced only in such degrees as will amalgamate

with the peculiarities of the Irish national character, and correct its excesses without destroying its nature will be valuable aids in the work of improvement.⁷

Others sought to extirpate certain Irish features and promote the rest. George Grey stated that

if kind sympathies and sound education are applied to the cultivation of the moral waste, and of the passion-blighted spots which disfigure a portion of the fair moral creation, there would be corresponding crops of promise.⁸

He went on to recount his

having been told in America that the person who made the most successful settler was the Irishman planted between a Scotchman and a Yankee, for he found his native ardour and impetuosity on the one hand sobered into caution by the prudence of the Scotchman, while he was incited to activity by the go-aheadness of the American.⁹

It was felt by many that the Celt could be made into a good citizen; the careers of such figures as Edmund Burke and the Duke of Wellington supposedly bore this out.¹⁰

But Celtic features in themselves were wholly undesirable. Within parliament much distinction was made between "Celtic" and "Anglo-Saxon" social behavior. "It is necessary," said B. Hawes, Member for Lambeth, "that the improved condition of Ireland be accompanied by the people's knowledge of Anglo-Saxon industry and Anglo-Saxon habits," while Lord Palmerston stressed that extinction of rebellion in Ireland "is only to be done by showing that we have in Ireland a sufficient Saxon force to make any movement on the part of the

Celts perfectly hopeless."¹¹ Anglo-Saxonism and Irish Celticism were supposedly two distinguishable qualities; Lyell's theory of the inheritance of acquired characteristics was widely accepted. Even in physical appearance, the Irishman's blunt nose, thick lips, wild eyes and general unkempt appearance were frequently pointed out as distinguishing features.¹²

As mentioned, the belief that the Irish were an indolent and quarrelsome race appeared to be substantiated by Irish social conduct. No doubt the impaired social condition of Ireland was the result of centuries of oppressive English misrule; yet this was not clear to the majority of British parliamentarians and parliamentary commissioners. Public knowledge of Irish affairs was amazingly scanty at this time,¹³ and knowledge of Irish history practically non-existent. Many political figures believed, as did Blackwoods Magazine, that "until the Saxon-conqueror as he was—touched Irish soil, there did not grow, blossom or bear fruit any intelligible notion of social order, or public liberty."¹⁴ The English presence in Ireland was thought to have been brought about by a sheer necessity of leadership rather than simple conquest; the Irish were regarded as incapable of self-government. "They had legislated for Ireland," said the Archbishop of Dublin, "as a child is governed by its parents, or a person of weak intellect by its guardians without its own consent."¹⁵

Although the Irish Question, ever changing in form but not in substance, had been shouldered by Westminster for centuries, the Irish personality was still puzzling to Vic-

torian politicians. Seldom had parliamentary involvement with Ireland and the Irish been as direct and personal as it was in the 1840's. Many of the derogatory statements made by English politicians about the Irish people were occasioned by a frustration caused by the simple inability to cope with the 'Irish ulcer'. This was certainly the case with the extreme charges of 'barbarism' and 'savagery' which were common during the trying months of 1847 and 1848; Sir Charles Trevelyan's assertion that the character of the Irish people was a greater evil than the vast starvation is an excellent example. 16

According to Gerhart Saenger, ethnic prejudice

is the tendency to evaluate the person not as an individual but as a member of his group, as well as the belief in the inferiority of all its members. This belief in turn is rooted in the assumption of the essential likeness of all its members, the overlooking of individual differences. The convictions that whatever differences exist are innate often constitutes an important part of such faulty generalizations. . . . We judge a specific person or idea on the basis of preconceived notions, without bothering to verify or examine the merits of our judgement.¹⁷

Employing this definition, an intrinsic prejudice can be seen to have underlain many of the views expressed towards the Irish people. This was especially the case in the frequent comparisons made between the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon cultures, when it was so often assumed that the simple fact of difference indicated Irish degeneracy. As Earl FitzWilliams maintained:

The people of England were a curious

people. They possessed the feeling more than any other nation in the world, that anything which was theirs was good, and they were perhaps very much in the right. But they did not seem to have a notion that what was good for them might be ill for others.¹⁸

English national pride was strong in the 1840's, with such individuals as Charles Kingsley, T. B. Macaulay, Thomas Arnold and J. S. Mill all speaking in apology for Anglo-¹⁹Saxon institutions. The unfortunate offshoot of English patriotism was a derision of other ethnic groups, amongst whom the Irish were singled out for special condemnation. English liberty, English industry and English orderliness appeared to run directly counter to Irish Catholicity, Irish mismanagement and prodigality, and Irish excitability. Because of the dichotomy in the historic development of the two nations the Irish were declared inferior.

But English prejudice against the Irish was more than simple race antagonism. Many anti-Irish feelings were engendered by existing political, religious and class biases. Indeed, statements on the Irish which were simply racist usually carried far less bigotry and malice than those denouncing Irishmen as members of the Catholic faith, the lower classes and revolutionary political organizations. Within parliament the Irish were seen at the extreme ends of the political spectrum, as potential jacobins and as supporters of Popish tyranny. Consequently, the Roman Catholic peasantry of Ireland possessed at least one feature, aside from their race, which was anathema to practically every British

parliamentarian.

The question of anti-Irish prejudice was a frequent side-issue in the parliamentary debates of the 1840's. A most telling remark was made by H. G. Ward, Member for Sheffield, in June, 1844:

The same unhappy feelings, the same stubborn prejudices, that have plunged us for years into a course of vicious legislation, still retain a certain hold, at all events, on the public mind. . . . Prejudice, ignorance, the respect for authority, and a great fear of misrepresentation upon religious subjects, had long induced most people to look with considerable apprehensions to this question [Irish Church Temporalities].²⁰

Upon coming to office in 1846, Lord John Russell said, concerning Peel's Irish policy, "I will not be a minister to carry on systems which I think are founded on bigotry and prejudice."²¹ Even The Quarterly Review, a strong proponent of the view that Anglo-Saxons and Celts were inherently dissimilar, stated:

Englishmen must divest themselves of many prejudices, and see things in new points of view, before they can be quite competent, either as legislators or landlords, for a task to which they are no longer indifferent — the improvement of Ireland.²²

The Irish members too were quick to point out what they considered to be unfair statements by British parliamentarians, or unfair policies of the British Government. Otway Cave, Member for Armagh, described Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst as a man "who hates Irish liberty with a perfect hatred. I fear that the Irish members will see in these appointments [to the

Irish administration] only another proof of the contempt in which they think they are held in England."²³ R. S. Peto, Member for Clare, remarked that "there are, Sir, most false impressions abroad as to the Irish character," and J. Reynolds Member for Dublin city, expressed his view that "at all events it was grossly unjust to malign the whole character of the Irish on account of such proceedings [outrages]."²⁴

The feelings of the Irish towards English bigotry were acknowledged by Lord Palmerston:

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that a most mischievous and dangerous opinion has of late been extensively propagated in Ireland, that the English feel no kindness for or sympathy with the Irish; that we look upon them as conquered serfs; and that we are on all occasions ready to trample on their rights and insult and persecute their religion.²⁵

Others refuted the charge of prejudice. Among them, Lord Dudley Stuart maintained:

Some of the Hon. Gentlemen who represented the Irish constituencies had spoken as if there was some hostile feeling in that house [Lords] and in the country against the people of Ireland. He utterly disclaimed all feeling of the sort.²⁶

Anti-Irish prejudice in the Early Victorian parliament was indicated in several ways. Very often the most prejudiced attitudes of people are to be found in their passing remarks, the general themes of which barely touch upon the subject of their prejudice. The Early Victorian political figures who issued comprehensive statements upon the nature of the Irish usually possessed some evidence, weak and super-

ficial though it might have been, for their assertions; or at least they had rationally contemplated the Irish enigma to some extent. However, a comment such as that made by Mr. J. Stewart, Member for Renfrewshire, on the 1848 Encumbered Estates Bill: "He believed that no man—not even an Irishman—would be so insane as to purchase an estate under this Bill:" assumes a number of negative characteristics as inherently Irish which the speaker either was unable or did not wish to substantiate.²⁷ A statement of this sort may thus be seen as more prejudiced than the more malicious, racist views of Disraeli or Henry Drummond, who had at least delved²⁸ into the historic background of the Irish personality. Indeed, even Viscount Althorp's mildly derogatory statement that a certain scene of confusion in the House of Commons²⁹ "was not unworthy of an Irish theatre" was very biased.

Casual remarks on the character of the Irish are more common in the reports of the Government commissioners than in Hansard. However, the commissioners were less prone to emotional outburst than the members of parliament. The more subtle comments on Irish degeneracy in commission reports implies a greater degree of rational conviction on the nature of the Irish. Thus the charge of bias among the commissioners may be eased somewhat. The nature of their employment gave the commissioners an opportunity to obtain evidence in support of their statements. An example of mild anti-Irish bias can be seen on the part of the Commissioners of Public Works in 1846. "The fishing industry in Galway is undeveloped," it

was noted, "and the fishermen are too poor to buy salt to preserve their catch. Their basic unassertiveness in their occupation is a further hinderance."³⁰ Also, in the Devon Commission, it was noted that "in view of the indolent habits of the people" industry lagged, while at Erris in 1847, the peasantry,³¹ "true to their ways" were on the verge of rebellion.

It was in the casual utterances on the Irish made by parliamentarians that the greatest degree of prejudice was evinced. For example, on the subject of Irish under-representation, Charles Wood asked, "would he [Peel] expect any people, especially those with a mind like the Irish, to be content with such meagre representation?" and added "because³² they are Irish they are discontented in the extreme."

Another typical statement was that made by G. P. Scrope, Member for Stroud, when he declared that the working population of England was being dragged down "by the invasion of Irish poverty and the contagion, it might be, of Irish crime."³³ Crime and poverty in industrial England were frequently described as 'Irish' vices. "If the English labourers had not gone from the agricultural to the manufacturing districts," maintained R. S. Gibson, Member for Manchester, "the places they occupied in the latter would have been supplied by Irish labourers, and this would have had a still more depressing³⁴ effect."

Prejudice towards the Irish was often revealed in the inconsistency of many of the statements made concerning them. As has been shown, the political attitudes towards the

Irish showed much variance, and the parliamentarians and parliamentary commissioners generally depicted 'Paddy' as either lazy and dreamy, or reckless and rowdy. However, on occasion, the Irish were described as both wild and indolent in the same breath. Though seemingly inconsistent, this, of itself, was not necessarily prejudiced, for often Irish social behavior was seen as simply unpatterned. Yet many expressed views on the Irish were in fact self-contradictory. Certain terms, such as 'cunning' and 'irrational', and 'rebellious' and 'subservient' often appeared side by side as descriptive of the Irish. Charles Greville held a particularly derogatory view of the Irish:

They are a nation of ferocious barbarians, and the hodge podge of ignorance and knowledge, tyranny and liberty, poverty, fanaticism, cunning idleness and passions of every description let loose upon society have produced such a condition of things as never existed before in any country in the world.³⁵

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Disraeli's opinion of the Irish has been mentioned. Often such statements amounted to little less than attributing to the Irish everything degenerate and wicked.

Often bias and bigotry were revealed in statements merely expressing the wish to do injury to the Irish people. "No measure could be sufficiently stringent . . . no measure too unconstitutional for the Irish masses," said Lord Farnham.³⁷ "This was a matter of shooting Irishmen in Ireland," said R. N. Wakley, Member for Finsbury, on the subject of the 1847 Coercion Bill, "and if that was an amusement which they

relished, why should they not have it?"³⁸ The Bishop of Carlisle stated his belief that "the embodiment of the militia in Ireland was a great purifier of peccant humors."³⁹ Few people expressed such outright hatred for the Irish people as Sir Charles Trevelyan, who stated his belief that "the great evil was not the Famine itself, but the selfish, perverse and turbulent character of the people."⁴⁰ Especially during the debates on the coercion measures of 1846, 1847, and 1848 did a deep wish to malign the people of Ireland show⁴¹ through in many sections of the British political nation.

Though more inclined towards expressions of contempt and trepidation than the commissioners, the parliamentarians, at least when speaking in parliament, were making public statements, and the true nature of their opinions was often muted by the usual caution with which open utterances were voiced. Even the published collections of personal correspondence and the memoirs of leading political figures were edited, often by personal friends or relatives, and the unattractive declarations omitted. Although a feeling of national guilt for the existing state of Ireland was noticeably absent in parliament, the mere sophistication of Victorian political oratory would have softened the malignity of many⁴² degrading and narrow-minded thoughts on the Irish people. Thus, although anti-Irish bigotry was prevalent in the open discussions at Westminster, the actual detestation of the Irish was probably much greater.

The race views of the Early Victorians were by no means confined to the Irish. Though it is true that the views

expressed about other ethnic cultures were often similar to those of the Irish, they did not approximate the intensity of the 'Celtic views'. Pre-occupation with the Empire and its various component ethnic and racial groups was principally a late nineteenth century phenomenon. However, many of the opinions later expressed towards the colored races were forshadowed by the attitudes towards the Irish during the 1840's. The condescending paternalism which marked British administration of her overseas possessions was partially an offshoot of a frame of mind engendered by the centuries' old approach to the problem of Ireland and the nature of her people. The 'White man's burden' was not always the African and the Asian. In a particularly degrading analysis of the Irish members of parliament, R. S. Walter, Member for Westbury, expressed a standard trend of opinion. He drew parallels between the Irish and 'the blacks'.

I have always considered that one of the best tests of the capacity of a people for self-government was the possession of business habits; and of those habits one of the most important was the habit of keeping to any question under discussion. Now if I were to apply that test to the people of Ireland, I should say, after the course which has been pursued by the Irish members during this debate, that they were about as fit for self-legislation as the blacks. The House may not be aware, but it is nevertheless a fact that the blacks have a proverb that "if nigger were not nigger, Irishman would be nigger."⁴³

Later on in the century more direct British involvement with non-western races served to dilute the concentration upon the

supposed anomalies of the Irish personality. Although the overall conception of 'Paddy' as a rowdy, irresponsible, lazy and dirty Irishman has remained to this day, his features were not as shocking to the Late Victorian political classes as to their ancestors. Though definitely not English, Irish emigrants had nevertheless populated vast reaches of the Empire, paradoxically carrying with them the virtues of English civilization. It is significant that whereas during the 1840's patriotic allusions were generally voiced towards 'English' and 'Anglo-Saxon' institutions, the rallying cry at the end of the century was for the 'British' Empire, membership to which was not denied the Celt.⁴⁴

It is somewhat paradoxical that even though the differences between the Anglo-Saxons and Celts were acknowledged by the majority of the Early Victorian political nation, and even many Irish parliamentarians, the concept of nationalism as the crux of the Irish Question was wholly dismissed.⁴⁵ Even those English politicians who called loudest for justice in Ireland, John Bright, Lord Brougham and Lord Ashley, stressed that the Union must be maintained at all costs. Despite England's sympathies with other subject nationalities, notably the Italians, the Magyars and the Poles, the Irish did not merit an independent Ireland. Thus, although the Irish were a people unto themselves, possessing a separate personality, a separate religion, and, to an extent, a separate language, they were not regarded as having the attributes of a nation.

It may be argued that the distinctiveness of the Irish from the English was too great, that the dissimilitude was so apparent and so dangerous that the English political establishment could not afford to consider the existence of an independent Irish political state for reasons of national security. Undoubtedly this was the belief of many political figures. Yet simple prejudice was undoubtedly a factor underlying England's refusal to recognize the Irish as a nation. Other subject nationalities of Europe were usually attributed at least some virtuous social traits, among them their desire for a liberal constitution and freedom from the Catholic church. They were thought to have qualities which, by English standards, could provide a positive base necessary to their sustenance as a nation-state. The national character of the Irish was, however, regarded as almost totally negative. The Irish were indolent, rowdy and Catholic; they stood for tyranny, rebellion and Popery. As Viscount Barnard claimed, "the disposition of the people warrants our presence" in Ireland.⁴⁶ What was considered to be an almost total absence of rectitude and wholesomeness in the Irish personality contributed towards their denial by England of the right to nationhood. Thus, whereas the Irish were a distinct people, they were regarded, as were the Africans and the Asians, as too inferior for self-government. This belief lasted well into the twentieth century and was one of the principal deterrents to Home Rule.

Chapter VI

The Irish Image Outside Parliament

She spoke reproachfully: 'Have you no pride in the title of an Englishman?'

'I'm an Irishman.'

'We are one nation.'

'And its one family where the dog is pulled by the collar.'

--George Meredith, Celt and Saxon¹

Though much diversified, the political classes were a distinctive sector of Early Victorian society, and the attitudes they expressed towards the Irish should not be regarded as exactly representative of those held by Englishmen in general. Aside from their particular conceptions of the Irish personality, the political classes displayed far more frustration and bitterness than appears to have been normal outside parliamentary circles; sporadic and unqualified denunciations of the Irish people marked almost all extensive parliamentary debates on the Irish Question. Also, the political classes tended to be especially supercilious and condescending in their approach to the Irish. In the pages of Hansard an enormous gulf can be detected between the British² M.P.s and their counterparts from Ireland. An authoritarian frame of mind, a common feature of all governing classes, and the overwhelming perplexity of the Irish Question were probably the two key factors impairing the parliamentary approach

to the Irish people.

Outside parliament 'Paddy' was usually considered with much less severity. He was still an object of indignation, yet the outright hatred evinced by many parliamentarians was not a typical response of the early Victorians. Even in the popular political press of the 1840's the Irish do not appear to have been subject to the same campaign of malicious derision carried on in many sections of parliament.³ In the columns of The Times the foibles of Irishmen often furnished comic relief from the more significant news of the day, while in Punch even the Famine and the uprising of 1848 were regarded as humorous subject matter.⁴ Occasionally the immediate gravity of the situations in Ireland did provoke harsh, defamatory rebukes. On the subject of Famine relief in 1848, The Times declared:

Taking all things into account, we do not hesitate to say that every hard-working man in this country carries a whole Irish family on his shoulders. He does not receive what he ought to receive for his labours, and the difference goes to maintain the said Irish family, which is doing nothing but sitting idle at home, basking in the sun, telling stories, going to fairs, plotting rebellion, wishing death to the Saxon, and laying everything that happens at the Saxon's door.⁵

The general attitude of The Times is better reflected in the following assessment of the Repeal agitation:

For the greater part of a year we have been favoured with the spectacle of general amusement in Ireland. The temple of Janus has been closed by the more prominent leaders of the popular factions.⁶

The same allusions to Irish sloth, filth and rebelliousness were made, yet done so with greater sarcasm and less cogency, as though Irish calamities lacked any vital importance. The pathetic futility of the Irish experience was as much a joke as a catastrophe, and most often attributed to the enigmatic nature of the Irish personality. Punch, too, sought to portray Irish misfortune in mocking terms. It was declared of the abortive uprising by Young Ireland that "the magnificent idea of falling back upon a cabbage bed, and covering the retreat with cabbage leaves, is quite worthy of a Celtic hero. . . . The whole business has been beautifully Irish."⁷

Much less severe in its assessment of Ireland and its people was The Examiner. The strength of Father Mathew's teetotalling movement was especially lauded, and on the subjects of the Famine and the Repeal movement, The Examiner⁸ was very understanding. A typical comment on the nature of the Irish people was given in 1845:

They are unused to the management of their own affairs, and in the realm of politics are excited by their suspicions of England, arising as they do from ignorance. . . . They are innocent of any real malicious intent.⁹

Indeed, most publications not exclusively oriented to politics seem to have been relatively lenient towards the Irish. On the subject of "Ireland and the Irish," The Monthly Review referred to certain outrages, but added:

God forbid that we should lead the reader into the error of believing that the horrible system we have referred to is by any means general in Ireland, or that it is promoted or encouraged by the better classes of society. It is, as we have stated, only in reference

to "land" and matters pertaining thereunto, that the "legislation" of such associations is directed; and very frequently their proceedings are accompanied by such startling traits of unselfishness, generosity, honesty, and justice as go far to strengthen the evil —by depriving it of much of its odious and revolutionary character. In fact, the general "goodness" of the Irish peasant is never altogether observed; and his worst crimes often verge upon the best of virtues.¹⁰

The Monthly Magazine also portrayed the essential virtues of the Irish in a short story, "Daft Jessie of Leith," although¹¹ Irish irresponsibility was the general theme.

The Early Victorian conception of 'Paddy' can also be partially seen in the vast number of 'Irish novels' which were read in England during the 1840's. William Carleton, C. S. Hall, Joseph Kickham, Samuel Lover and Maria Edgeworth were some of the writers who presented countless tales of Irish life to the British reading public. Although these writers were themselves Irish or Anglo-Irish, their works were read widely in England, and may be assumed to have influenced somewhat the English conceptions of the Irish.¹²

The 'Irish novel' usually portrayed the Irish people as care-free and boisterous, untouched by the drabness of industrialization. 'Paddy' appeared as an attractive individual, satisfied with his earthly lot and possessing an idyllic contentment in his rural environment. His national characteristics were usually the main theme of the Irish novel. Thomas Flanagan makes a distinction between the forms of the English and Irish novels of the early nineteenth century:

The English novelist was concerned with social choice and personal morality,

which are the great issues of European fiction. But to the Irish novelist these were subordinated to questions of race, creed and nationality—questions which tend of their nature to limit the range and power of fiction.¹³

In addressing the second publication of his novel Handy Andy, Samuel Lover said:

The hero is a blundering fellow whom no English or other gentleman would like to have in his service; but still he has redeeming natural traits; he is not made either a brute or a villain; yet his "twelve months character" . . . would not get him a place upon advertisement in either "The Times" or "The Chronicle".¹⁴

The character of 'Handy' Andy Rooney is illustrative of the majority of the characters appearing in the Irish novel. He was

a fellow who had the most singularly ingenious knack for doing everything the wrong way; disappointment waited on all affairs in which he bore a part, and destruction was at his fingers' ends, so the nickname his neighbours stuck him with was Handy Andy, and the jeering jingle pleased them.¹⁵

He was also portrayed with the English reading public in mind. As Flanagan points out, "The Irish novels were addressed to an English audience, and most of them offered to explain and interpret the sister kingdom."¹⁶ As a consequence, there were mild variations on the theme of "Paddy", and Irish novelists were known to disagree as to the exact nature of the "real Ireland".

The novels of Maria Edgeworth, written in the early 1800's, were chiefly about the Anglo-Irish ascendancy of the eighteenth century. This is particularly true of her first

novel, Castle Rackrent, although in the person of Thady M'Quick the imaginativeness and generosity of the peasantry are delineated. Their rowdiness and love of drink are also suggested when a group of peasants raise havoc at a gentleman's funeral.¹⁷ In her two succeeding novels on Ireland, Ennui and The Absentee, the Irish masses are described as carefree and contented, but lacking the qualities of leadership; the virtues of landlordism were the underlying theme in both cases.

Dealing more directly with the nature of the Irish peasantry were the stories of John Banim, written in the 1820's. Banim's tales were geared, as Patrick Murray maintains, "to raise the national character in the estimation of other lands, by a portrayal of the people as they really were, but at the same time to vindicate them from the charges of violence and bloodthirstiness."¹⁸ However, many of Banim's stories dealt with the excitability of the Irish. In one scene in Crohoore, a member of the local Whiteboy association plots to murder a tithe collector. "The reivin', plunderin', murtherin', raparees o' tithe proctors, the bitther foes of auld Ireland's land," he exclaims, "slingein' at home because the blow doesn't strike hard."¹⁹ The intense passions of the Irish were also the principal feature in the characters drawn by Gerald Griffen.

The most widely read Irish novelist was probably William Carleton. In The Edinburgh Review it was maintained that "it is in his pages and in his pages alone, that future generations must look for the truest and fullest, though still

far from complete, picture of those who ere long will have passed away from that troubled land." ²⁰ Carleton's most notable work was Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry, which appeared in 1833. In it the alleged rebelliousness of the Irish was a predominating feature. Carleton himself, though a Ulsterman, was a Catholic and had spent his youth involved in Ribbon activities. However, the wit and joviality of the Irish is also stressed, and in a style of prose exemplifying the mood of the subject:

That the Irish are a ready-witted people is a fact to the truth of which testimony has been amply born both by their friends and enemies. Many causes might be brought forward to account for this questionable gift, if it were our intention to be philosophical; but, as the matter has been so greatly conceded, it would be but a waste of logic to prove to the world that which the world cares not about, beyond the mere fact that it is so.²¹

Likewise prevalent in Carleton's tales is the melancholy nature of the Irish:

I have often, indeed always, felt that there is something extremely touching in the Irish cry; in fact, that it breathes the very spirit of wild and natural sorrow. The Irish peasantry, whenever a death takes place, are exceedingly happy in seizing upon any contingent circumstances that may occur, and making them subservient to the excitement of grief for the departed, or the exultations and praise of his character and virtue.²²

Carleton's descriptions of the Irish differed sharply from the buffoonery predominating in the stories of Charles Lever. The sensitivity and religiosity of Carleton's characters are not evident in those drawn by Lever. In Lever's

Tuttrell of Arran, Irish gaiety appears to arise out of their own muddle-headedness. Such is the case with the tales of Mrs. S. C. Hall and Joseph Kickham as well, although the characters of Mrs. Hall exhibited a greater degree of barbarity.²³

The delineation of Irish life in the 1840's was not confined to the literary endeavors of Irishmen. The Victorian age produced numerous attempts by Englishmen to describe the life of the Irish peasant. The most notable of these was William Makepeace Thackeray's Irish Sketch Book, which appeared in 1843. Thackeray was deeply fond of the Irish peasantry, and according to The Monthly Review, his Irish Sketch Book "indeed put one in love with the Irish."²⁴ It was also noted that Thackeray's "one-sidedness was that of a thorough Englishman."²⁵ The Irish Sketch Book described Thackeray's tour through the south and west of Ireland. He especially noticed the extreme poverty of the people, as for example, in Carlow where

troops of slatternly, ruffianly-looking fellows assembled around the carriage, dirty heads peeped out of all the dirty windows, beggars came forward with a joke and a prayer, and troops of children raised their shouts and halloos.²⁶

But more positive traits of the people were the general theme: "no people are more eager for learning, more apt to receive it, or more grateful for kindness, than the Irish."²⁷ However, the essential gaiety of the Irish was not evident to Thackeray:

Any stranger going amongst the people can perceive that they are now anything but gay. I have seen a great number of

crowds and meetings of people in all parts of Ireland, and found them all gloomy. There is nothing like the merry-making one reads of in the Irish novels.²⁸

The Irish were seen as carefree and relatively free from worry but not to the point of exuberance.

The attitudes towards the Irish expressed by the Early Victorian intelligentsia were, however, every bit as varied as those of the political classes. In literature the Irishman was often portrayed along the lines of the Irish peasant described by the Irish novelists. Anthony Trollope however declared strongly against the personalities stereotyped by the Irish novelists:

As well call all Welshman thieves because of the nursery lines about Taffy as pronounce thriftlessness a peculiarly Irish fault on the strength of Samuel Lover's caricatures in Handy Andy, Lever's portrait of an Irish dragoon, or the casual impressions of a holiday trip in Kerry and Connemara.²⁹

In his first novel on Ireland, The Macdermots of Ballydoran, published in 1845, the Irish are seen as a people of fortitude and persistence in the wake of political, religious and economic strife. They are, however, attributed strong passions, which are brought to the fore, as in the case of Thady Macdermot, by the social injustice ever prevalent in Ireland. The Kelly's and the O'Kellys, Trollope's second novel on Ireland, reflected the same mood as his earlier work. Although it is filled with rowdiness and drunkenness, the characters described possess more determination and intelligence than was generally attributed to "Paddy". Other novelists, such

as Edward Bulwer Lytton and George Meredith described the Irish as more reckless and headlong, although not unattractive.³⁰ Among the novels especially defamatory of the Irish may be named Charles Kingsley's Alton Locke, which reflected the author's view of the Irish as "human chimpanzees."³¹

Many renowned intellectuals outside the field of pure fiction also offered descriptions of the Irish character, many of them unfavourable. According to Thomas Carlyle:

The Irish national character is degraded, disordered; till this recovers itself, nothing is yet recovered. Immethodic, headlong, violent, mendacious: what can you make of the wretched Irishman? . . . Such people works no longer on nature and reality; works now on fantasm, simulation, nonentity. . . . Such a people circulates not order but disorder, through every vein of it;— and the cure, if it is to be a cure, must begin at the heart; not in his condition only but in himself must the Patient be all changed. Poor Ireland!³²

Dr. Thomas Arnold saw the Irish Celt as directly antagonistic to the Anglo-Saxon.³³ "What good can be done permanently with a people who literally do make man's life as cheap as beasts," he said in 1822, and added that they were "content to multiply in idleness and in such beggary that the first failure of a crop brings them to starvation."³⁴ John Ruskin, too, was at odds with the Irish temperament, maintaining that "the glare of the eye is very peculiar in the Irish face."³⁵ He added, however, that the Irish possessed "such heart, and good nature, and love of fun."³⁶ Frederick Engels identified squalor with the Irish personality in The Conditions of the Working Class in England, and stated that the Irish "are

uncouth, improvident and addicted to drink. . . . Two things make life supportable to the Irishman—his whiskey and his lively, happy-go-lucky disposition."³⁷ Herbert Spencer stressed that "an Irishman delights in a row," and J. Bradley drew the following contrasts between the Irish and the Anglo-Scottish peoples:

Employment, hard work, large wages, and good living form the object of the Englishman and the Scotchman's ardent desires; while coarse food, bad lodgings, and half-clothing are quite agreeable to the Irishman, if they can be combined with independence—if by using them he may avoid labour, and enjoy those amusements to which he is passionately addicted, and which he indulges unrestrainedly.³⁸

More favourable descriptions were offered by Thomas de Quincey in Blackwoods Magazine.³⁹

What may be termed "educated" concepts of the Irish personality were thus quite similar to the opinions expressed by the parliamentarians; the difference lay in intensity of expression. The attitudes of the lower classes are less easily discovered, although numerous commission reports attested to the incompatibility between the English labourers and the Irish immigrants.⁴⁰ Henry Mayhew likewise described the disrespect in which the Irish were held by the populace of London. "I found among the English costermongers a general dislike of the Irish," he stated, "in fact, next to a policeman, a genuine London costermonger hates an Irishman, considering him an intruder."⁴¹ It is probable that more outright fear of the Irish existed among the lower social orders; they were after all in more direct contact with the Celtic

⁴²
immigrant.

Outside Great Britain, and mainly in North America, animosity towards the Irish was very much in existence in the nineteenth century.⁴³ Says Oliver Macdonagh, "their race, religion, poverty, historical experience, and customary attitudes formed a compound more or less unpalatable to the majorities."⁴⁴ Yet it must be admitted that for the most part the Irish immigrants from the British Isles populated areas already settled by Englishmen. Even the relatively open society in the United States was patterned wholly upon Anglo-Saxon cultural institutions. Consequently, while vast numbers of Irishmen came to seek social and political emancipation outside the British Isles, their confrontations with the Anglo-Saxon culture were practically inescapable. Other ethnic cultures assimilating into the Anglo-Saxon way of life tended to adopt Anglo-Saxon prejudices as well. As a result, the Early Victorians' characterization of 'Paddy' has survived in most parts of the western world, although in a less acute form than which amused and disgusted Englishmen in the 1840's.

Epilogue

The attitudes of the established political classes towards the Irish threw into relief the mores and conventions of Early Victorian England. Ireland and the Irish Question frequently brought parliamentarians to reflect upon their own social and moral views. As Gladstone lamented in 1842:

Ireland! Ireland! That cloud in the west!
That coming storm! That minister of God's
retribution upon cruel, inveterate, but
half-stoned justice! Ireland forces upon
us these great social and great religious
questions.¹

Although the Irish had been a subject of indignation in England for centuries, the moral atmosphere of Early Victorian times² was particularly hostile to the alleged Irish character. So much of what is considered to have been 'the Victorian frame of mind' was set in direct contrast to Irish social behavior. In parliament the perpetual distress and dissension in Ireland was seen as a lesson, an example of what a civilized community should not be. To many, Ireland was the anti-thesis of the English way of life. In introducing his History of England, Macaulay dwelt upon the blessings and progress of English civilization, but added for the sister island:

Ireland, cursed by the domination of
race over race, and of religion over
religion, remained indeed a member of
the empire, but a withered and distorted
member, adding no strength to the body
politic, and reproachfully pointed at
by all who feared or envied the greatness
of England.³

The main features of the Irish personality, as
imagined by the Early Victorian political classes, sharply

The first of these is the fact that the
 government has been unable to secure
 the necessary funds to carry out its
 policy of non-interference. This is
 due to the fact that the government
 has been unable to secure the necessary
 funds to carry out its policy of non-interference.

The second of these is the fact that
 the government has been unable to
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The third of these is the fact that
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 funds to carry out its policy of non-interference.

contrasted with many English virtues. Declarations against Irish laziness and rebelliousness reflected a concentration by the political classes upon the virtues of both moral restraint and earnest enthusiasm.

Especially contrary to Irish social behavior was the puritanical ideal of emotional constraint which is assumed to have predominated amongst the upper middle orders of English society. The Irish were thought to be like children in their excitability, gullibility, rebelliousness and incapacity for self-discipline; the English attitudes towards the Irish were not unlike their attitudes towards children. A desire for respectability and the belief that human emotions should be under strict control can be detected in much of the contempt in which the 'wild Irish' were held. Occasionally such contempt was expressed with religious conviction. Equations between Irish misery and Divine retribution were frequent.

It is paradoxical that the Early Victorian age is also known for its enthusiasm. An evangelical and activist spirit can be detected in many of the attitudes to Irish docility. The Irish offended many English apostles of forceful individualism. Irishmen were constantly derided for their lack of initiative and for relying upon the capacities of others. The English commercial spirit and a disrespect for weakness were especially noticeable during the debates on the Famine. "If we could only get Ireland to stand upon her own two legs!" lamented H. Herbert.⁴ Indeed, the Famine was

considered by some to be a blessing in disguise, for it supposedly removed from Ireland many weak and undesirable elements. Herbert Spencer reflected the influence of Thomas Malthus when he said in 1850:

The poverty of the incapable, the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle, and those shoulderings aside of the weak by the strong, which leave so many in shallows and in miseries, are the decrees of a large far-seeing benevolence.⁵

Victorian social ethics bore the imprint of the industrial revolution and the evangelical revival of the late eighteenth century. Ireland had remained virtually untouched by both, and in the wake of Victorian 'progress' Ireland continued in a state of turmoil and distress. The negative attitudes of the political classes towards the Irish were the reaction of the leaders of commercial and Protestant England to the pre-industrial Catholic peasantry who inhabited Ireland.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1

Quoted in J. A. Froude, The Earl of Beaconsfield (London: J. M. Dent & Co.), p. 105.

2

It is Eric Strauss' belief that nationalism and "clericalism" in early nineteenth century Ireland were essentially the same. Eric Strauss, Irish Nationalism and British Democracy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.), pp. 92-96.

3

Angus McIntyre, The Liberator (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965.), p. 263.

4

During Peel's relatively long Secretaryship, 1812-1817, he proved prudent and judicious. However, his firm opposition to Catholic enfranchisement served to depreciate his character in Catholic circles. O'Connell especially disliked him and styled him "Orange Peel". George Kitson Clark, Peel and the Conservative Party (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1964.), p. 8.

5

Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lvi (Sept., 1840), pp. 220-237.

6

Ibid., vol. lvii (June 3, 1841), p. 1065.

7

See Russell to Lansdowne, 12 November, 1841, in G. P. Gooch, The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell (London: Longman's & Co., 1925.), vol. i, pp. 49-50.

8

According to Viscount Palmerston, "any person who had sat in the House [Commons] for any number of years must be gratified in comparing the tone and temper of the present debate with those which some former debates . . . used to have when Irish subjects were brought up for discussion." Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxi (Jan. 18, 1842), p. 821.

9

Peel to De Grey, Sept. 18, 1841, in Charles Stuart Parker, Sir Robert Peel from his Private Correspondence (London: John Murray, 1890.), vol. iii, p. 22.

10

For an assessment of De Grey's character see the Dictionary of National Biography.

11

Peel to Graham, June 12, 1842, in Parker, Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 114; throughout the thesis 'Catholic' is taken to mean 'Roman Catholic'.

¹²Graham to Wellington, quoted in J. T. Ward, Sir James Graham (London: MacMillan, 1967.), p. 217; Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd. series, vol. lxxxiv (Feb. 9, 1846), p. 18.

¹³Ibid., vol. lxii (July, 1842), pp. 172-3.

¹⁴Peel to De Grey, in Parker Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 88.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 89.

¹⁶Peel to Graham, Nov. 10, 1842, in Parker, Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 142.

¹⁷Peel to Eliot, Nov. 13, 1842, in Parker, Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 162.

¹⁸Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxix (May 9, 1843), p. 23.

¹⁹The Bill provided that for property valued at less than £4 in the country and £8 in the towns the rate would have to be paid by the landlords. Ibid., 3rd. series, vol. lxviii (May 5, 1843), pp. 1318-1347.

²⁰Ibid., 3rd series, vol. lxix (June 3, 1843), p. 1250.

²¹See R. B. McDowell, Public Opinion and Government Policy in Ireland, 1801-1846 (London: Faber and Faber, 1952.), p. 241.

²²Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxix (May 9, 1843), pp. 24-25.

²³Ibid., (May 29, 1843), pp. 996-1063; see also K. B. Nowlan, The Politics of Repeal (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.), p. 46.

²⁴Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxix (June 3, 1843), pp. 1238-1266; Ibid., (May 29, 1843), pp. 996-1063.

²⁵Ibid., (May 29, 1843), p. 1061.

²⁶Ibid., (June 1, 1843), p. 1225.

²⁷Ibid., (June 15, 1843), p. 1587.

²⁸Wellington to Graham, Oct. 5, 1844, in, C. S. Parker, The Life and Letters of Sir James Graham (London: John Murray, 1907.), vol. i, p. 411.

²⁹Quoted in Daniel O'Connell, Correspondence of the Liberator, W. J. Fitzpatrick, ed. (London: John Murray, 1888.) pp. 308-309.

³⁰Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxix (June 5, 1843), pp. 998-1063.

³¹Ibid., (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxix (June 1, 1843), p. 1225.

³²Ibid., vol. lxx (July 14, 1843), p. 1139; Ibid., p. 1149.

³³See E. R. Norman, The Catholic Church in the Age of Rebellion (London: Longmans & Co., 1965.), p. 2.

³⁴Peel to De Grey, in Parker, Sir Robert Peel from His Private Correspondence, vol. iii, p. 108; Graham to Peel, in Ibid., vol. iii, p. 116.

³⁵These figures are given by Gavan Duffy in Young Ireland (New York: G. Monroe, 1880.), vol. ii. p. 344.

³⁶Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxi (Aug. 24, 1843), pp. 1005-1010.

³⁷Nowlan, Op. cit., p. 66.

³⁸McIntyre, Op. cit., p. 113.

³⁹Peel to Graham, in Parker, Sir Robert Peel from His Private Correspondence, vol. iii, p. 334.

⁴⁰Graham to Wellington, Oct. 2, 1844, in Parker, The Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, vol. i, p. 409.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 404.

⁴²Parker, Sir Robert Peel from his Private Correspondence, vol. iii, p. 88.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 47-9.

⁴⁴Peel to Graham, Dec. 6, 1844, in Correspondence of Sir Robert Peel from the Royal Archives of Windsor Castle, vol. I, p. 14. no. 40.

⁴⁵Bill to Consolidate and amend the Laws for the Regulation of Charitable Loan Societies in Ireland, in Great Britain. Parliament. Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. x, (1843), p. 289.

⁴⁶R. B. McDowell, Op. cit., pp. 214-18.

⁴⁷Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxix (April 3, 1845), pp. 18-38.

⁴⁸Peel to Stanley, in Parker, Sir Robert Peel from His Private Correspondence, vol. iii, p. 230.

⁴⁹David Large, "The House of Lords and Ireland in the Age of Peel, 1832-1850" in Irish Historical Studies, vol. ix (Sept., 1955), p. 387.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 389.

⁵¹Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxxx (June 3, 1845), p. 1160.

⁵²Ibid., p. 1200.

⁵³Gentleman's Magazine, new series, vol. xliii (1845), p. 640.

⁵⁴McDowell, Op. cit., p. 221; when the first division was taken in the Lords the ministry's majority was composed of a solid block of nearly 100 Whig peers. The rest consisted of placemen and a relatively small band of loyal Conservative peers. Without the Whigs the Bill would have been defeated. See Large, Op. Cit., p. 387.

⁵⁵Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxx (May 9, 1845), pp. 385-391; Peel also saw in this measure a means of establishing a responsible, educated middle class in Ireland to offset the influence of the priests. Peel to Prince Albert, June 15, 1845, Windsor Archives, vol. D. 14, p. 153.

⁵⁶The Times for August 12, 1843.

⁵⁷Peel to Her Majesty, Aug. 12, 1845, Windsor Archives, vol. D. 14, p. 153.

⁵⁸Ward, Op. cit., p. 217.

⁵⁹Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. civ (March, 1847), p. 107.

⁶⁰Graham to Peel, Oct. 17, 1843, quoted in Nowlan, Op. cit., p. 64.

⁶¹Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxiii (Aug. 9, 1843), pp. 418-422.

⁶²Lord Brougham stated, "what lay at the root of the whole question [outrage] was the tenure of land." Ibid., vol. xcv (Dec. 16, 1847), p. 1226.

⁶³Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of the Land in Ireland. Parliamentary papers (House of Commons), vol. xix (1845), p. 56.

⁶⁴He claimed to have a petition of 36 peers protesting the introduction of the Bill. See Large, Op. cit., p. 389.

⁶⁵Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxii (Aug 5, 1846), pp. 1454-1481.

⁶⁶Sir Robert Peel, Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, published by the trustees of his papers (London: John Murray, 1857.), vol. ii, pp. 182-184.

⁶⁷Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 141-148.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxiii (Jan. 8, 1846), p. 186.

⁷⁰Peel to Graham, Dec. 28, 1845, in Parker, Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, p. 29.

⁷¹Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxv (March 30, 1846), pp. 334-358.

⁷²Daniel O'Connell, Op. cit., p. 330.

⁷³Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxvii (July 16, 1846) pp. 1162-1163.

⁷⁴Ibid., vol. lxxxviii (Aug. 17, 1846), p. 773.

⁷⁵Ibid., vol. xci (Apr. 26, 1847), pp. 420-424; vol. xcii (May 1, 1847), pp. 213-298; vol. xciii (June 29, 1847), pp. 1019-1044; in fairness to Russell it should be maintained that he was under the assumption that the system of poor relief had been functioning very efficiently in Ireland, when it had not. See Spencer Walpole, The Life of Lord John Russell (London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1889.), vol. i, p. 435.

⁷⁶Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. cii (Aug. 10, 1848), p. 953.

⁷⁷Wood to Russell, 1846, in Walpole, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 436.

⁷⁸The Economist, Jan. 30, 1847, pp. 113-117; Trevelyan was regarded as the primary force behind the Government's relief policy. The Annual Register for 1847, p. 238.

⁷⁹Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcii (April 30, 1847), p. 238.

⁸⁰It was ironic to note Irish repealers and Irish landlords taking the same side on an issue concerning Ireland. However, the cause of repeal had largely deteriorated by this time. Famine and a split between O'Connell and the Young Ireland party had depleted the Repeal Association of much of its vitality by the end of 1846.

⁸¹Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. xcii (May 6, 1847), pp. 949-955.

⁸²Ibid., p. 449.

⁸³Ibid., p. 436.

⁸⁴Ibid., vol. lxxxix (Jan. 21, 1847), pp. 76-84.

⁸⁵Ibid., (Jan. 23, 1847), pp. 426-454.

⁸⁶Ibid., (Feb. 22, 1847), vol. xc, pp. 226-228.

⁸⁷Walpole, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 467.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 468; in February, 1848, a Bill was introduced which would have granted tenants compensation for improvements on their leases without the landlords' consent, if an arbitration committee approved the claim. However, opposition was too strong and Russell was forced to shelve the measure. Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcvi (Feb., 1848), p. 673.

⁸⁹Nowlan, Op. cit., p. 183.

⁹⁰Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxix (Jan. 19, 1847), pp. 101-109.

⁹¹Ibid., vol. xc (Feb. 16, 1847), p. 123.

⁹²It must be kept in mind that the amount of money spent in relief measures was extremely high, given the mild extent of government expenditure at this time. The Peel administration alone spent £8,000,000 in relief efforts. See Lawrence J. McCaffrey, The Irish Question (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968.), p. 65.

⁹³'Tenant right' actually came to comprise a number of meanings from simply more justice for tenants to an outright overthrow of the landowner class. The most persistent goal was, however, fixity of tenure.

⁹⁴Walpole, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 461.

⁹⁵Nowlan, Op. cit., pp. 176-177.

⁹⁶Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), pp. 270-312.

⁹⁷This measure had far more effect than the Papal rescript of 1844. See Nowlan, Op. cit., p. 178.

⁹⁸Clarendon to Henry Reeve, Jan. 21, 1848, in John Knox Laughton, Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Henry Reeve, (London: Longmans & Co., 1898.), vol. i, pp. 192-195.

⁹⁹Memorandum of Lord John Russell, March 30, 1848., in Walpole, Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 64-65.

¹⁰⁰Wood to Russell in G. P. Gooch, Op. cit., vol. i, pp. 225-226.

¹⁰¹Campbell to Russell in Ibid., pp. 227-228.

¹⁰²The Confederate clubs were local branches of John Mitchel's Irish Confederation, the militant wing of the Young Ireland party.

¹⁰³Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. c (July 22, 1848), p. 743.

Chapter II

¹The Quarterly Review, vol. 68 (1841), p. 337.

²Quoted in Robert Blake, Disraeli (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1966.), p. 131.

³Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. liv (April 7, 1840), p. 822.

⁴Ibid., vol. lxvii (Mar. 23, 1843), p. 1382.

⁵See T. W. Freeman, Pre-Famine Ireland (Manchester: The University Press, 1957.), pp. 64-68.

⁶According to E. P. Thompson, "demoralized in Ireland by a subsistence economy or by the conacre system, they

[the peasantry] had acquired a reputation for lethargy and feckleness. Energy was no asset in a land where the good tenant was penalized by the doubling of his rent." The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964.), p. 433.

⁷Speech by Viscount Jocelyn in Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (November 27, 1847.), p. 334.

⁸Report of the Select Committee on Laws relating to . . . destitute (Ireland), Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. x, (1846), p. 885.

Report of the Commission on Medical Charities (Ireland) in Ibid., vol. xi (1846), p. 100.

⁹Seventh Annual Report of the Poor Law (Ireland) Commissioners in Ibid., vol. xi (1841), p. 202.

¹⁰Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxix (May 9, 1843), p. 27.

¹¹See Charles Stuart Parker, Sir Robert Peel from His Private Correspondence, vol. iii, pp. 33-40.

¹²Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxviii (May 30, 1843), p. 144; see the speech by Brougham in Ibid., vol. lxiv (Feb. 17, 1842), p. 632.

¹³During the late 1830's and until 1842 there was a very gradual increase in the agricultural returns for Ireland, although this often did not reflect on the degree of poverty experienced by the peasantry. See T. W. Freeman, Op. cit., pp. 62-73.

¹⁴James Graham to Sir Robert Peel, January 22, 1846, in Charles Stuart Parker, The Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, vol. ii, p. 38.

¹⁵Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xciv (Nov. 23, 1847), p. 882.

¹⁶Russell to Lord Bessborough, December 11, 1846, in George Peabody Gooch, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 163.

¹⁷The Edinburgh Review, vol. 84 (1846), pp. 308-9.

¹⁸Trevelyan quoted in a letter from Sir John Hill to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Correspondence and Accounts Relating to Measures of Relief of the Suffering from Scarcity in Ireland in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xxxvii (1846), p. 17.

¹⁹Composition of the reports were invariably undertaken by English members who headed the commissions.

²⁰Seventh Annual Report of the Poor Law (Ireland) Commissioners in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xi (1841), p. 181.

²¹Especially notable for its attack on Irish sluggishness is the First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland in Ibid., vol. xvii (1847), pp. 418-19, in which it is noted that "the emmense feckleness and laziness of the immigrants is also being spread to the colonies."

²²Correspondence Explanatory of the Measures adopted by H. M. Government for the Relief of Distress Arising from Failure of the Potato Crop in Ireland in Ibid., vol. xxxvii (1846), p. 735; in general, the tone of the reports on the Famine combined both indignation and sympathy. In reports not dealing directly with the condition of the peasants comparatively little is said about the Irish character, yet when such references are made they invariably note the trait of indolence. The necessity of "greater energy" on the part of the Irish is stressed in the Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Select Committee on Savings Banks (Ireland) in Ibid., xiv (1849), p. 21; in the Report of the Railways Department of the Board of Trade on Schemes for Extending Railway Communication in Ireland in Ibid., vol. xxxix (1845), p. 19, it is maintained that "both capital and a commercial spirit are deficient in Ireland."

²³Clarendon to Reeve, Sept. 18, 1847, in John Knox Laughton, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 189.

²⁴It is especially to be noted that the Anglo-Irish aristocrats did not acknowledge to any extent the indolent traits of the peasantry at this time.

²⁵Russell to Charles Wood, Feb. 28, 1848, in George Peabody Gooch, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 324.

²⁶Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 341.

²⁷Ibid., vol. xcv (Dec. 10, 1847), p. 942.

²⁸The Diaries of John Bright, J. A. R. Walling ed. (London: Cassell & Co., 1930.), p. 226.

²⁹Report of the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring population of Great Britain in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xxvi (1842), p. 42; the number of Irish born in England and Wales in 1841 was 289,404. By 1851 this

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number had risen to 519,959 (nearly 3% of the total population of England and Wales). See K. H. Connell, The Population of Ireland (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950.), pp. 22-4. These immigrants were usually employed in the most menial of tasks. For a survey of what fields the Irish tended to find employment in see appendix I.

³⁰Report on the Sanitary condition of the Labouring Population of Scotland in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xii (1842), p. 8.

³¹Wood to Russell, September 24, 1847, in George Peabody Gooch, Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 302.

³²Clarendon to Reeve, September 18, 1847, in John Knox Laughton, Op. cit., p. 189; Lansdowne to Russell, August 13, 1848, in George Peabody Gooch, Op. cit., p. 229.

³³See J. A. Jackson, The Irish in Britain (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.), p. 156.

³⁴Clarendon to Reeve, December 17, 1848, quoted in Sir H. Maxwell, The Life of the Duke of Wellington (London: R. R. King-Smith, 1894.), vol. i, p. 280.

³⁵Seventh Annual Report of the Poor Law Ireland Commissioners in Sessional papers (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xi (1841), p. 49.

³⁶Suggestions of childish primitiveness as a feature of the Irish peasantry abounds in commission reports on Ireland. "Such a carefree and unconcerned people, . . . They seldom exert themselves . . . being content to live their lives with no thought for the future," was a description offered on the tenantry of Wicklow in the Report of the Select Committee on Medical Charities . . . (Ireland) in Ibid., vol. x (1843), p. 412.

³⁷For a particularly descriptive account of the squalor in which the Irish immigrant lived, as well as an association of such filth with the Irish character, see Frederick Engels' account of the Irish in northern England in Appendix II.

³⁸With the establishment of the system of poor removal in Britain in 1832, relatively little attention is paid by the British Poor Law Commissioners to the Irish immigrants. However, equations between the Irish and squalor were made. In The Report of the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain (Edinburgh: University Press, 1965 [1842].), it is noted that "one school of thought attributed the rising incidence of disease in the first half of the nineteenth century simply to the Irish immigration." P. 15.

³⁹F. A. Nicholls, Poor Law (Ireland) Commissioner maintained this in Parliament. Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxviii (May 5, 1843), p. 1326.

⁴⁰Lord Campbell to Lord Normanby, July 3, 1848, in The Life of John, Lord Campbell, Mrs. Hardcastle ed. (London: Carleton & Sons, 1881.), vol. i, p. 96.

⁴¹Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 334.

⁴²Report of the Select Committee on Railway Labourers in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xiii (1846), p. 441.

⁴³T. L. Lane to Sir Charles Trevelyan in Correspondence explanatory of the Measures adopted by H. M.'s Government for the Relief of distress . . . in Ireland in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xxxvii (1846), p. 148-9.

⁴⁴Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxix (May 16, 1843), p. 322.

⁴⁵The Edinburgh Review, vol. 79 (Jan. 1844), p. 159.

⁴⁶Clarendon to Wellington in Sir H. Maxwell, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 283.

⁴⁷Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 912.

⁴⁸The Leeds Mercury for July 22, 1843.

⁴⁹As the outrages increased with the Famine there was a noticeable tendency to see all crime in Ireland as a part of a movement headed by Repeal members and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. An example can be seen in the Correspondence . . . Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. lii (1847), p. 797, in which a certain Thomas Kimble states that "at present the state of the countryside is maintained in a constant turmoil of murder and outrage . . . directed by Catholic priest;" he further states that "all over Ireland the people are kept in agitation by the boisterous harangues of these men. The excitement permeates every village. . . ." Ibid., p. 798.

⁵⁰Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxix (May 9, 1843), p. 45; Ibid., vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 1213.

⁵¹It is true that the activities of 'Whiteboy' and 'Molly Maguire' organizations were rife at this time. However these were local and often spontaneous outrages, unconnected with either the Repeal Association or the Roman Catholic Church. See Gavan Duffy, Four Years of Irish History (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1883.), p. 125; speech by Lord Roden in Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 23, 1847), p. 224.

⁵²Parliamentary debates (House of Lords, 3rd series, vol. cvii (Aug. 5, 1842), p. 787.

⁵³Ibid., vol. xci (Dec. 10, 1847), p. 922.

⁵⁴Ibid., vol. xcvi (Apr. 11, 1848), p. 232.

⁵⁵Ibid., vol. xci (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 1008.

⁵⁶Ibid., vol. cxxxi (Feb. 11, 1841), p. 929.

⁵⁷Quoted in Evelyn Ashley, The Life of Lord Palmerston (London: R.R. Bentley, 1879.), vol. ii, p. 98.

⁵⁸Speech by Lord Brougham in Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. c (July 10, 1848), p. 304.

⁵⁹Quoted in Evelyn Ashley Op. cit., vol. i, p. 486.

⁶⁰Tenth Annual Report of the Poor Law (Ireland) Commissioners in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. ix (1844), p. 243.

⁶¹The Irish were also known to be very sentimental and easily given to tears. "The Irish are the happiest and yet the saddest of people," noted Richard Whately, "they are ever weeping at the misfortune of others." Quoted in W. J. Fitzpatrick, Memoir of Richard Whately (London: John Murray, 1864.), p. 123.

⁶²Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. c (July 22, 1848), p. 342.

⁶³See Angus McIntyre, Op. cit., pp. 55-8.

⁶⁴Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxvii (March 7, 1843), p. 337.

⁶⁵Ibid., vol. lxviii (March 30, 1843), p. 149.

⁶⁶See the Returns respecting the state of the Police of Dublin in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xxvii (1841), p. 262.

⁶⁷The Quarterly Review, vol. 68 (1841), p. 362; the Irish were also regarded as incapable of getting along with each other. See "Story of an Irish Informer" in John Ashton, Gossip in the First Decade of Queen Victoria's Reign (London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd., 1903.), pp. 165-8.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 361.

⁶⁹Blackwoods Magazine, vol. 50 (Jan.-June, 1844), p. 644.

⁷⁰Quoted in Sir Dennis leMarchant, Memoir of Viscount Althorp (London: MacMillan & Hope, 1876.), p. 453.

⁷¹"An absense of worry is to be found amongst the people of Galway . . . despite their wretched condition," noted the Eighth Annual Report of the Poor Law (Ireland) Commissioners in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xiii (1842), p. 196.

⁷²Speech by G. M. Fagan in Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 342.

⁷³Ibid., vol. xcvi (April 11, 1848), p. 220.

⁷⁴The Quarterly Review, 1841 (vol. 68), p. 350.

⁷⁵Lord Ashley was especially attracted to this aspect of the Irish character. "If this is to be taken as a specimen of their barbarism," said Ashley, "I would not exchange it for the refinement and polish of the most civilized nations on the globe." Quoted in J. W. Bready, Lord Shaftesbury and Social-Industrial Progress (London: Geary Allen & Unwin, 1926.), p. 73; it might also be noted that the Irish had something of a reputation for great physical exertion (over short periods of time). Ashley also noted this in the Report of the Select Committee on Mines and Collieries in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xxix (1842), p. 9.

Chapter III

¹The Quarterly Review for 1841 (vol. 68), p. 370.

²John Plumtre in Proceedings of the Anti-Maynooth Conference of 1845, quoted in E. R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1968.), p. 144.

³Cardinal J. H. Newman, Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England in 1851 (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918.), pp. 11-12.

⁴The 1851 census yielded 252,783 Catholics attending church. However, only a portion of the Catholics in England attended church on 'census Sunday'; Horace Mann estimated the approximate number of Catholics to have been 610,000. See E. R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England, p. 17; Samuel Ferguson's statement in 1851 that there were one and one-half million Catholics in England and Wales may be taken as erroneous. See Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. cxiv (Feb. 4, 1851), p. 93; in 1851 it was estimated that there were 608,354 Irish in England. See appendix III.

⁵Arthur Redford, Labour Migration in England (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964.), p. 163; for further accounts of Anglo-Irish working class strife, see Terry Coleman, The Railway Navvies (London: Hutchinson of London, 1965.), pp. 83-91.

⁶See B. Hemphill, The Early Vicars Apostolic of England (London: Burnes & Oates, 1954.), p. 99.

⁷W. Herberg, Protestant, Catholic and Jew (New York: Doubleday, 1956.), p. 160.

⁸E. R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England, p. 18; Newman also maintained that "as English is the national tongue, so Protestantism is the intellectual and moral language of the body politic." J. H. Newman, Op. cit., p. 568.

⁹Yet even during the 'Papal aggression' issue of 1850-52, the Irish Catholic hierarchy were more roused than their ecclesiastical counterparts in England. See E. R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England; p. 74.

¹⁰Gilbert A. Cahill, "Irish Catholicism and English Toryism" in Review of Politics, vol. xix (1957), p. 64.

¹¹The Orange order, though abolished in 1836, continued an effective anti-Catholic campaign. Of the popular press, The Times and Punch especially derided 'Popery'. Peel did not take part in the anti-Catholic campaign, although he did not speak against it, and he did appoint an Orangeman to office in 1834. Edinburgh Review, vol. lxii (1836), p. 286.

¹²See above, p.4.

¹³Quarterly Review, vol. lxxix (1845), p. 104.

¹⁴Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxix (June 21, 1844), p. 657.

¹⁵The Times for April 7, 1845, p. 21.

¹⁶Lord Palmerston, quoted in Evelyn Ashley, Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 49.

¹⁷Thomas Babington Macaulay, quoted in Sir Dennis LeMarchant, Op. cit., p. 448.

¹⁸Parliamentary debates, vol. xcv (Dec. 6, 1847), p. 636.

¹⁹Sir George Nicholls, A History of the Irish Poor Law (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1967 [1856]), p. 167.

²⁰Parliamentary debates, (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxiv (June 28, 1842), p. 834; Ibid., vol. lxxv (June 12, 1844), p. 934. of the eleven Assistant Commissioners, six were English and two of the five Irish were Catholic.

²¹Ibid., vol. lxvii (May 23, 1843), p. 1348.

²²A most extensive discussion of the "Irish character" and the connection of the Catholic faith to it is carried on in the Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain in Sessional Papers (House of Commons), vol. xxxiv (1836) pp. 17-42. There is consistent association of the "Irish Catholic" with all of his bad features.

²³Max Weber's thesis in The Protestant Ethic (1905) has been much criticized; nevertheless the fact that the Irish peasant "escaped the imprint of Baxter and Wesley" set him off rigidly from the English. See E. P. Thompson, Op. cit., p. 433.

²⁴W. Herberg, Op. cit., p. 160; in England the Irish continued under the sway of the Catholic priests who had accompanied them over. States H. M. Richardson, "Everywhere the people ran out to meet him. . . . Women croded to their door-steps, and came creeping up from the cellars through the trap-doors merely to curtsey to him. . . . Even as the priest walked along the street, boys running at full speed would run up to touch his hair. . . ." in Reminiscences of Forty Years in Bolton (Botton: Stanford & Sharp, 1880.), pp. 129-31; see also Dennis Gwynn "The Irish Immigration" in G. A. Beck ed., The English Catholics (London: Burns & Oates, 1950.), pp. 129-31.

²⁵See Rachel O'Higgins, "The Irish Influence in the Chartist Movement" in Past and Present, vol. xx (1961), p. 84.

²⁶Lord Russell, quoted in The Times, Nov. 7, 1850.

²⁷The Anti-Maynooth Petition quoted in E. R. Norman Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England, p. 155.

²⁸Sir George Nicholls, Op. cit., p. 357.

²⁹Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol cxii (July 26, 1848), p. 227.

³⁰Ibid., (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. xcix (May 29, 1848), p. 1001.

³¹Ibid., (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcix (July 3, 1848), p. 30.

³²Ibid., (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcvi (April 18, 1848), p. 582.

³³Ibid., (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxi (May 30, 1842), p. 822.

³⁴Ibid., (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxi (July 20, 1842), p. 841.

³⁵Ibid., (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxi (May 9, 1843), p. 3; A. S. Turberville maintains that "Lord Roden's sincere fanaticism caused him to oppose with consistent venom every item of the Government's Irish policy which might have been helpful. The House of Lords in the Age of Reform (London: Faber & Faber, 1958.), p. 402.

³⁶Ibid., (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcvi (Dec. 16, 1847), p. 986.

³⁷Ibid., (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxxv (May 31, 1844), p. 88.

³⁸Report from the select committee to Inquire Into the State of Ireland since 1835, in Sessional Papers (House of Lords), vol. xi (1839), p. 486.

³⁹See Rachel O'Higgins, Op. Cit., p. 84.

⁴⁰C. J. Blomfield in A Memoir of Charles James Blomfield, A. Blomfield ed. (London: John Murray, 1863), vol. i, p. 185.

⁴¹See Rachel O'Higgins, Op. cit.

⁴²Lord Campbell in Mrs. Hardcastle, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 222; Lord Palmerston quoted in Evelyn Ashley, Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 47.

⁴³E. R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England, p. 16.

⁴⁴Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd session, vol. lxxv (July 20, 1842), p. 818.

⁴⁵"The influence of the clergy is continuing to lead astray the majority of the Irish people," said the Earl of Roden, "rousing their hatreds, [and] enticing them with spirits." Ibid., vol. xcix (Feb. 10, 1852), p. 325.

⁴⁶Edwin Hodder, The Life and the Work of the Earl of Shaftesbury (London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1888.), vol. ii, p. 277.

⁴⁷Evelyn Ashley, Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 486; G. F. A. Best stresses that there was a distinction to be made between "anti-sacredotalism" and Irish prejudice in Victorian England. He maintains that, "the very readiness to see the same Roman evils at work outside the formal frontiers of Popery as well as inside . . . gave to English anti-sacredotalism . . . its special vigour and enterprise, and a large degree of distinctness from those common anti-Irish attitudes with which it was often, in politics, mixed up." "Popular Protestantism" in Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain, R. Robson ed. (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1967.), p. 117.

⁴⁸Quoted in Denis Gwynn, A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929.), p. 115.

⁴⁹Ibid., Shrewsbury's charges against the Irish priesthood and his letters to Archbishop McHale of Taum are reproduced in Bernard Ward's The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915.), vol. ii, pp. 140-7.

⁵⁰The degree to which the Irish clergy was responsible for the outrages would be hard to estimate. The higher clergy was relatively immune to the revolutionary spirit, yet their control over the priesthood was far from complete. Although, by the 1840's, greater centralization was taking place. See J. H. Whyte, "appointment of Catholic Bishops in nineteenth century Ireland" in The Catholic Historical Review, vol. xlviii (1962-63), pp. 20-21; a large section of the priesthood, who were later termed 'Young Ireland Priests' counselled openly repeal of the Union. See E. R. Norman, The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion, p. 20.

⁵¹Edwin Hodder, Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 100. See above, p. 61.

⁵²Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxv (July 20, 1842), p. 834.

⁵³Ibid., vol. cxii (July 28, 1848), p. 882.

⁵⁴Ibid., vol. lxiii (May 20, 1842), p. 310.

⁵⁵Ibid., vol. lxiii (May 30, 1842), p. 1021.

⁵⁶Ibid., vol. lxxii (May 3, 1844), p. 727.

⁵⁷The Quarterly Review, vol. 68 (1841), pp. 356-7.

⁵⁸Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxix (May 19, 1843), p. 569.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid., vol. xcv (Nov. 27, 1847), p. 192.

Chapter IV

¹Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxix (May 16, 1843), p. 324.

²Ibid., (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. c (July 22, 1848), p. 927.

³For an account of the extent to which the Tory party was divided by the Maynooth crises see David Large, "The House of Lords and Ireland in the Age of Peel" in Irish Historical Studies, vol. ix (Sept., 1955), p. 367; for the divisions on the Maynooth Bill see Appendix IV, and for the divisions on Peel's Coercion bill of 1846 see Appendix V.

⁴For Peel's views on the Irish character see above, p.3.

⁵Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 882.

⁶Graham to Peel, Oct. 10, 1845, in C. S. Parker, The Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, vol. i, p. 419.

⁷Quoted in Sir H. Maxwell, The Life of the Duke of Wellington (London: R. R. King Smith, 1894), vol. ii, p. 272.

⁸When asked if he considered himself an Irishman, Wellington was reputed to have replied, to the effect, that 'simply because one is born in a stable does not make him a horse.' See Sir James Maxwell, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 118.

⁹Quoted in Sir Dennis leMarchant, Op. cit., p. 452.

¹⁰Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. xcvi (Dec. 16, 1847), p. 662; when noting the pending uprising of 1848, Stanley lamented the extent of Irish criminality: "Why if the population of Ireland is so tainted as the Noble Marquess [of Londonderry] represents it to be—if that feeling be as the noble Earl states, and I am confident truly states—could you, in the case of political offences . . . go to an ordinary jury without a chance of obtaining a conviction for a crime of which the vast portion of the population are in agreement?" Ibid., vol. c (July 21, 1848), p. 1202.

¹¹Ibid., p. 1204; Ibid., vol. xcv (Nov. 23, 1847), p. 1004.

¹²Ibid., vol. c (July 19, 1848), p. 804.

¹³Ibid., vol. cii (Aug. 14, 1848), p. 932.

¹⁴Ibid., vol. lxxvi (May 3, 1844), p. 1022.

¹⁵Ibid., vol. lix (May 27, 1842), p. 271.

¹⁶Ibid., (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 23, 1847), p. 88.

¹⁷Ibid., vol. ci (July 28, 1848), p. 1230.

¹⁸Ibid., vol. lxxvii (Mar. 14, 1843), p. 929.

¹⁹At this time The Quarterly Review was edited by James Croker, who viewed the Irish peasantry in somewhat idyllic terms as a carefree, though simple-minded people. "The most friendly people in the world" he had called them in 1822, but added, "their sense of responsibility should not be over-rated." Croker's Correspondence and Diaries, Lewis J. Jennings ed. (London: John Murray, 1884.), vol. i, p. 232-4.

²⁰The Quarterly Review, vol. 68 (1841), p. 340.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 341.

²³Ibid., vol. 78 (1846), p. 540.

²⁴Ibid., vol. 82 (1847-8), p. 269.

²⁵Ibid., vol. 83 (1848), p. 362.

²⁶Ibid., vol. 68 (1841), p. 341; Baillie Cochrane

too stated in 1847 that "alleviation of that distress was not the especial province of Government, but of private charity." Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcvi (Dec. 9, 1847), p. 802; Viscount Bernard as well disapproved of Government relief, and spoke of the charitableness of the Irish. "There was a principle formerly acted upon, before the introduction of legislative measures there was an unwritten law which actuated every Irishman, and beat in every Irish breast; and by that law it was decreed that no beggar should ever be turned away from the poor man's door, although he might share his last meal with one scarce poorer than himself," he said in 1843. Ibid., vol. lxvii (May 23, 1843), p. 1400.

²⁷Blackwoods Magazine, vol. 50 (Jan.-June, 1844), pp. 647-8.

²⁸Drummond to Peel in Speeches in Parliament and Some Miscellaneous Pamphlets of Henry Drummond, Lord Lovaine ed. (London: Bosworth & Harrison, 1860.), p. 349.

²⁹Ibid.,

³⁰According to Robert Blake, Drummond "described the monarchy and the hereditary aristocracy as 'emanations of Christianity'." Robert Blake, Op. cit., p. 589.

³¹The first instance of open disagreement between Young England and Peel was in July, 1843, when George Smythe: Lord Manners and Baillie Cochrane voted against Smith O'Brien's resolution for an inquiry into the social state of Ireland. Ironically, the Young Englanders, in their increased opposition to Peel, took the stand for justice to Ireland. See Louis J. Jennings, Op. Cit., vol. iii, p. 9.

³²Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxi (Aug. 10, 1843), p. 663.

³³Robert Blake, Op. cit., p. 131.

³⁴The Times for June 12, 1836.

³⁵Ibid.; see also, J. A. Froude, The Earl of Beaconsfield (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1905.), pp. 63-5.

³⁶Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. cxxxii (Apr. 3, 1868), p. 102; Disraeli, on occasion, spoke in apology of the Irish temperament to the public. For example, in his political biography Lord George Bentinck, he stated, "these barbarous distempers had their origin in the tenure of land in Ireland and in the modes of its occupation," and "the Irish peasant had to choose between starvation and assassination." Benjamin Disraeli, Lord

George Bentink (London: Archibald Constable and Company, 1905 [1852]), pp. 80-1; However, in private, his vehemence showed through. Speaking of Mrs. Bulwer, whom he regarded as an enemy, he stated, "you must not mistake her jolly good nature as an evidence of feeling: it is merely the impulse of Irish blood. Indeed, she is so thoroughly the daughter of Erin that I never see her without thinking of a hod of mortar and a potato. Nature certainly intended that she should console her sorrows in Potteen. . . ." Quoted in Robert Blake, Op. cit., p. 155.

³⁷Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxi (Aug. 22, 1844), p. 103.

³⁸According to David Large, "of the 'Irish interest' of 105 in January, 1833, only 34 could be classed as Whigs." David Large, Op. cit., p. 369.

³⁹Ibid., p. 320.

⁴⁰These policies contributed to the reorganization of the Orange order in 1843 under Lord Enniskillen.

⁴¹Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxi (Dec. 6, 1847), p. 1030; speaking, in June, 1848, about certain Irish workers who were dismissed from their drainage projects, he maintained, "they had invariably conducted themselves as honest, industrious, and peaceful men as the lower orders of the Irish always do." Ibid., vol. xcvi (June 19, 1848), p. 1122.

⁴²Ibid., vol. lxix (May 16, 1843), p. 324.

⁴³See David Large, Op. cit., p. 372.

⁴⁴Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxvi (Aug. 8, 1842), p. 922.

⁴⁵Ibid., vol. lxiii (May 30, 1842), p. 1321.

⁴⁶Ibid., vol. lxii (May 24, 1842), p. 1121.

⁴⁷The Earl of Wicklow stated in 1842 that a withdrawal of the Maynooth grant would be "the height of absurdity." He further suggested that the grant should be increased so that "a higher class of people" may become priests. Ibid., vol. lxi (Apr. 14, 1842), p. 882; Earl Fontescue too spoke favourably of the Catholic priesthood, maintaining that "from no men or party in Ireland had he received such able assistance in prevention and suppression of crime." Ibid., vol. lxiii (May 30, 1842), p. 613.

⁴⁸See Donald Southgate, The Passing of the Whigs (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1962.), pp. 193-217; for the divisions on Russell's coercion measures see appendix VI and VII.

⁴⁹Parliamentary debates (House of Commons, 3rd series, vol. ci (July 28, 1848), p. 329.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 432.

⁵¹Ibid., (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. xciii (May 23, 1847), p. 81.

⁵²Ibid., vol. lxvii (Mar. 23, 1843), p. 1374.

⁵³Ibid., p. 1377.

⁵⁴Ibid., (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxvii (Mar. 9, 1843), p. 822.

⁵⁵Ibid., (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. xcvi (Dec. 16, 1847), p. 681.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcvi (Apr. 7, 1848),

⁵⁸Quoted in Evelyn Ashley, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 101.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 102.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 443.

⁶¹Ibid., vol. ii, p. 49.

⁶²Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcvi (Apr. 11, 1848), p. 1131.

⁶³Ibid., vol. xcvi (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 382.

⁶⁴Ibid., vol. xcvi (Dec. 10, 1847), p. 1021.

⁶⁵Ibid., vol. xcix (July 14, 1848), p. 1312.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Nassau Senior, "Ireland in 1843" in Journals, Conversations and Essays relating to Ireland (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1868), vol. i, p. 31.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 43.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 43-5.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³The Edinburgh Review, vol. 75 (1842), p. 471.

⁷⁴Ibid., vol. 79 (1844), pp. 189-90.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 90.

⁷⁶Ibid., vol. 93 (1851), p. 213.

⁷⁷Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. xcvi (June 23, 1848), p. 1022.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 1028; Ibid., vol. lxi (May 8, 1843), p. 1361.

⁷⁹Ibid., vol. c (July 21, 1848), p. 962.

⁸⁰Ibid., vol. xcv (Nov. 23, 1847), p. 1021.

⁸¹Although a distinction may be made between 'working class' radicals and simple ideologically radical parliamentarians.

⁸²J. A. R. Wallington, Op. cit., p. 262.

⁸³Herman Ausubel, John Bright, Victorian Reformer (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.), p. 160.

⁸⁴Joseph MacCabe, Life and Letters of George Jacob Holyoake (London: Watts & Co., 1908), vol. i, p. 150.

⁸⁵The Westminster Review, vol. 41 (1842), p. 243.

⁸⁶Ibid., vol. 47 (1847), p. 121.

⁸⁷Ibid., vol. 50 (1849), p. 37.

⁸⁸Herman Ausubel, Op. cit., p. 37.

Chapter V

¹Blackwoods Magazine, vol. 50 (July-Dec., 1848), p. 611.

²For a description of the Irish character, and its alleged similarities to that of the lower working classes of England see Appendix VIII.

³Quoted in L. P. Curtis, Anglo-Saxons and Celts (Bridgeport: New York University Press, 1968.), p. 71. Robert Knox's The Races of Man appeared in 1850 and was read widely.

⁴Parliamentary debates (House of Commons) 3rd series, vol. c (July 28, 1848), p. 696; in the Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles for the 1840's, 'race' is taken to mean "a tribe, nation or people regarded as of common stock" and "one of the great divisions of mankind, having certain physical peculiarities in common." Thus the contemporary meaning of race was in existence in Early Victorian times; according to Macaulay, "in no country has the enmity of race been carried further than in England." Ibid.

⁵Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxvii (March 24, 1843), p. 1312.

⁶Stanley to Peel, March 10, 1844 in C. S. Parker, Sir Robert Peel from his Private Correspondence, vol. iii, p. 122.

⁷The Quarterly Review, vol. 68 (1841), p. 338.

⁸Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 967.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Although Burke and Wellington were Anglo-Irish, and did not equate themselves with the Irish peasantry, their ancestral ties with the Celtic peoples were acknowledged.

¹¹Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxvii (May 24, 1843), p. 1312. Palmerston to Lord Pannure quoted in Louis J. Jennings, Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 207.

¹²For the Irishman stereo-typed by Punch see Appendixes IX, X, and XI.

¹³See Lawrence J. McCaffrey, Op. cit., pp. 1-9.

¹⁴Blackwoods Magazine, vol. lxxiii (Jan.-June, 1848), p. 628.

¹⁵Parliamentary debates (House of Lords) 3rd series, vol. lxxviii (May 3, 1843), p. 1366.

¹⁶Ibid., vol. c (July 20, 1848), p. 324.

¹⁷Gerhart Saenger, The Social Psychology of Prejudice (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1953.), p. 3.

¹⁸Parliamentary debates (House of Lords) 3rd series, vol. xcviix (June 23, 1848), p. 922.

¹⁹For English national pride see Walter Houghton,

The Victorian Frame of Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.), pp. 44-47.

²⁰Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxi (June 11, 1844), p. 1012.

²¹Quoted in Stuart J. Reid, Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906). vol. ii, p. 98.

²²The Quarterly Review, vol. 68 (1841), p. 338.

²³Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxix (Sept. 20, 1846), p. 682.

²⁴Ibid., vol. cxi (Feb. 4, 1851), p. 822; Ibid., vol. xcv (Dec. 10, 1847), p. 902.

²⁵Quoted in Sir Evelyn Ashley, Op. cit., vol. i, p. 487.

²⁶Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Dec. 9, 1847), p. 1113.

²⁷Ibid., vol xcii (April 11, 1848), p. 502.

²⁸Gordon Allport defines ethnic prejudice as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a group as a whole, or towards an individual because he is a member of that group." The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Harper & Row, 1958.), p. 10. 'Racist' is here taken to mean the simple attributing of certain social criteria as predominating impropotionally amongst the genetic sub-classes of mankind.

²⁹Quoted in Sir Dennis leMarchant, Op. cit., p. 453.

³⁰Commissioners of Public Works to the Lords of the Treasury, October 10, 1846, p. 112; Correspondence . . . Relating to the measures adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. 1 (1847), p. 764.

³¹Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the Law and Practice in respect to the Occupation of the land in Ireland in Ibid., vol. xix (1845), p. 112; Papers relating to the aid afforded to the Distressed Unions in the West of Ireland in Ibid., vol. xlvii (1849), p. 1010.

³²Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxi (Aug. 22, 1843), pp. 760.

33 Ibid., vol. lxvii (Mar. 25, 1843), p. 1501. 141

34 Ibid., vol. lxvi (Feb. 20, 1843), p. 904.

35 The Greville Diary, Philip W. Wilson ed. (Toronto: Doubleday & Page & Co., 1927.), p. 353.

36 See above, p. 75.

37 Parliamentary debates (House of Lords), 3rd series, vol. lxviii (Dec. 2, 1847), p. 823.

38 Ibid., vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 1031.

39 Quoted in The Croker Papers, Louis J. Jennings ed. (London: John Murray, 1884.), vol. ii, p. 447.

40 Quoted in J. C. Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1966.), p. 350.

41 For the divisions taken on the coercion measures of 1846, 1847 and 1848 see appendices V, VI, and VII.

42 The two notable exceptions on the question of national guilt were Lord Ashley and John Bright. According to Ashley, "I can never speak of that country [Ireland] without shame and remorse. Centuries of misgovernment and neglect have brought that island into the condition it is now in. . . . The evils of that country spring from her social system, and spring from her religion, both alike traceable to this country, and both demanding the sympathy and succour of the English people." Edwin Hodder, Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 99; for Bright's views on English responsibility for the state of Ireland see Herman Ausubel, John Bright: Victorian Reformer (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.), pp. 38-40.

43 Parliamentary debates, 3rd series, vol. xcv (Dec. 7, 1847), p. 1227. Upon this assertion, John O'Connell said that "I think it is a question of order whether this buffoonery should go on." It is very telling of the parliamentary attitude that the Speaker thereupon called O'Connell out of order for using the word 'buffoonery'. Ibid., p. 1228.

44 In the complex race controversies which followed upon The Origin of Species and which formed a significant aspect of late nineteenth century social and scientific thought, the Celt was generally regarded as not all that dissimilar to the Anglo-Saxon. Most theories aligned the Teutonic and Nordic races with Anglo-Saxons and Celts against the Latin peoples. See Ruth Benedict, Race: Science and Politics (New York: The Viking Press, 1957.)

⁴⁵See Eric Strauss, Op. cit., pp. 67-9.

⁴⁶Parliamentary debates (House of Commons) 3rd series, vol. xcv (Nov. 29, 1847), p. 861.

Chapter VI

¹George Meredith, Celt and Saxon (London: Constable and Company, 1910.), p. 34.

²The Irish M.P.s were invariably indentified as "Irish," and on many occasions English Members would specify to whom they were directing their speech. For example, see Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. xcv (Dec. 7, 1847), p. 1012; on one occasion, T. Urquhart, Member for Stafford, said that "the presence of Irish Members in this House is an indignity as well as an evil." Ibid., vol. c (July 26, 1848), p. 893.

³By the "popular political press" it is meant those publications not avowedly supporting any political party.

⁴See The Times, July 14, 1848; also see Punch, vol. 14 (1848), p. 57; also, on the description by Punch of the impending uprising of July, 1848, see Appendix XII.

⁵The Times, July 26, 1848.

⁶Ibid., July 27, 1848.

⁷Punch, vol. 15 (1848), pp. 71-73.

⁸See The Examiner, July 20, 1840, and July 28, 1848.

⁹Ibid., August 12, 1844.

¹⁰The Monthly Review, vol. 3 (July, 1843), p. 175.

¹¹"Daft Jessie of Leith", in The Monthly Magazine, vol. 3 (January-June, 1840), p. 60.

¹²See Thomas Flanagan, The Irish Novelists, 1800-1850 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.), p. 38.

¹³Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁴Samuel Lover, Handy Andy, A Tale of Irish Life (Chicago: M. A. Donohue and Company, n.d., [1854].), p. i.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁶Flanagan, Op. cit., p. 36.

¹⁷Maria Edgeworth, "Castle Rackrent" in Stories of Irish Life (London: George Routledge and Sons Limited, 1892.), pp. 52-54.

¹⁸Patrick Murray, quoted in Thomas Flanagan, Op. cit., p. 174.

¹⁹John Banim, Crohoore of the Billhook (London: Simon and McIntyre, 1848.), pp. 10-11.

²⁰The Edinburgh Review, vol. cxcvi (October, 1852), p. 389.

²¹William Carleton, Stories of Irish Life (Dublin: The Talbot Press Limited, n.d.), p. 187. These were taken from Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.

²²Ibid., p. 273.

²³See Horatio Krans, Irish Life in Irish Fiction (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1966 [1903].), pp. 117-19.

²⁴The Monthly Review, vol. 3 (July, 1843), p. 275.

²⁵Ibid., p. 276. For Thackeray's account of "the best friend I ever had in the world" which is a characteristic response to the Irish lack of sophistication, see Appendix XIII.

²⁶William Makepeace Thackeray, Irish Sketch Book (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843.), vol. i, p. 68.

²⁷Ibid., p. 102.

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³¹Quoted in R. B. Martin, The Dust of Combat (London: Faber and Faber, 1959.), p. 224.

³²Thomas Carlyle, Chartism (London: Chapman and Hall, 1942.), pp. 26-27.

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³⁸Herbert Spencer, Social Statistics (London: D. Appleton and Company, 1910 [1868].), p. 14; J. Bradley, "Ireland" in Blackwoods Magazine, vol. 56 (June, 1844), p. 644.

³⁹Ibid., vol. 54 (August, 1843), p. 264, and vol. 55 (April, 1844), p. 518.

⁴⁰For accounts of the clashes that occurred between the Irish and the native English employed in railway construction, see The Report of the Select Committee on Railway Labourers in Great Britain in Sessional papers (House of Commons), vol. xiii (1846), pp. 420-56; see also Terry Coleman, Op. cit., pp. 59-63.

⁴¹Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1967 [1851].), vol. i, p. 104.

⁴²See J. A. Jackson, Op. cit., p. 127.

⁴³See Thomas N. Brown, Irish American Nationalism, 1870-1890 (New York: J. B. Lippencott Co., 1966.), p. 19.

⁴⁴Oliver Macdonagh, Ireland (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968.), p. 128.

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²According to J. A. Jackson, The Irish were considered an inferior people as early as Norman times. J. A. Jackson, Op. cit., p. 72.

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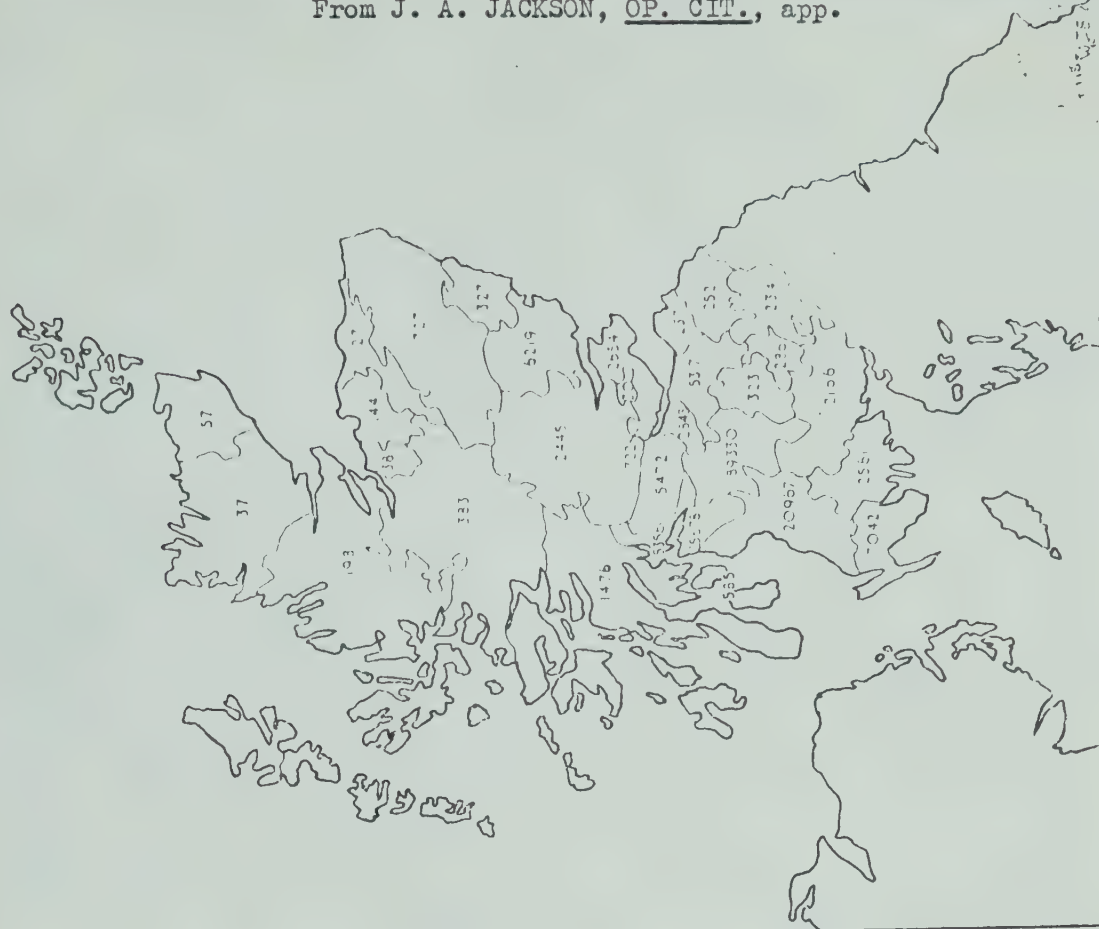
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APPENDICES

From J. A. JACKSON, OP. CIT., app.



Map G:2



MAPS G1 and G2 (opposite). Distribution of Irish-born residents in Great Britain
(1851 census)

The figures give the actual numbers of immigrants to the various areas.

cannot work on these terms, finds no work . . . the uncivilised Irishman, not by his strength but by the opposite of strength, drives out the Saxon native, takes possession in his room. There abides he, in his squalor and unreason, in his falsity and drunken violence, as the ready-made nucleus of degradation and disorder. Whosoever struggles, swimming with difficulty, may now find an example how the human being can exist not swimming but sunk.

That the condition of the lower multitude of English labourers approximates more and more to that of the Irish competing with them in all markets; that whatsoever labour, to which mere strength with little skill will suffice, is to be done, will be done not at the English price, but at an approximation to the Irish price: at a price superior as yet to the Irish, that is, superior to scarcity of third-rate potatoes for thirty weeks yearly; superior, yet hourly, with the arrival of every new steamboat, sinking nearer to an equality with that.¹

Carlyle's description is a perfectly true one, if we overlook his exaggerated and prejudiced defamation of the Irish national character. These Irish workers pay only fourpence passage-money to get to England and they are often packed like cattle on the deck of the steamboat. They are to be found everywhere. The worst accommodation is good enough for them; they take no trouble with regard to their clothes which hang in tatters; they go barefoot. They live solely on potatoes and any money left over from the purchase of potatoes goes on drink. Such folk do not need high wages. The slums of all the big towns swarm with Irish. One may depend upon seeing mainly Celtic faces, if ever one penetrates into a district which is particularly noted for its filth and decay. These faces are quite different from those of the Anglo-Saxon population and are easily recognisable. The Irish, of course, can also be identified by their accent, for the true Irishman seldom loses the sing-song, lilting brogue of his native country. I have even heard the native Irish language spoken in the most densely-populated parts of Manchester. The majority of cellar-dwellers are nearly always Irish in origin. In short, as Dr. Kay has pointed out, the Irish have discovered 'what is the minimum of the means of life, upon which existence may be prolonged . . . and this secret has been taught the labourers of this country by the Irish'.² The Irish have also brought with them filth and intemperance. Dirty habits, which have become second nature to the Irish, do no great harm in the countryside where the population is scattered. On the other hand, the dangerous situation which develops when such habits are practised

¹ T. Carlyle, *Chartism* (1839), pp. 28-9, 31-2.

² Dr. J. P. Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (1832), 2nd edn., p. 21.]

CHAPTER V

IRISH IMMIGRATION

We have already had occasion to refer several times to the Irish who have settled in England; and we now propose to discuss in greater detail the causes and effects of this Irish immigration.

The rapid expansion of British industry could not have taken place if there had not been available a reserve of labour among the poverty-stricken people of Ireland. The Irish had nothing to lose at home and much to gain in England. From the time that the Irish realised that across St. George's Channel strong able-bodied men could find permanent employment at good wages, hordes of them have flocked to Great Britain every year. It has been estimated that so far over a million have emigrated to Britain, and fifty thousand more are coming in year by year. Nearly all of them settle in the big cities of the industrial areas, where they form the lowest stratum of the community. There are 120,000 Irish poor in London, 40,000 in Manchester, 34,000 in Liverpool, 24,000 in Bristol, 40,000 in Glasgow and 29,000 in Edinburgh.¹ These folk have grown up in a virtually uncivilized condition. From childhood they have been accustomed to a life of austerity. They are uncouth, improvident, and addicted to drink. They introduce their brutal behaviour into a section of English society by no means noted for civilized habits or moral principles. Let Thomas Carlyle speak on this subject:

The wild Milesian features, looking false ingenuity, restlessness, unreason, misery and mockery, salute you on all highways and byways. The English coachman, as he whirls past, lashes the Milesian with his whip, curses him with his tongue; the Milesian is holding out his hat to beg. He is the sorest evil this country has to strive with. In his rags and laughing savagery, he is there to undertake all work that can be done by mere strength of hand and back; for wages that will purchase him potatoes. He needs only salt for condiment; he lodges to his mind in any pighutch or dog-hutch, roosts in outhouses; and wears a suit of tatters, the getting off and on of which is said to be a difficult operation, transacted only in festivals and the high-tides of the calendar. The Saxon man if he

¹ Archibald Alison, *The Principles of Population* . . . , 2 vols. 1840. This Alison is the historian of the French Revolution and, like his brother, Dr. W. P. Alison, is a religious Tory. [See A. Alison, *op. cit.*, Vol 1, p. 529 footnote, where the figure for Manchester is 38,000 and not 40,000.]

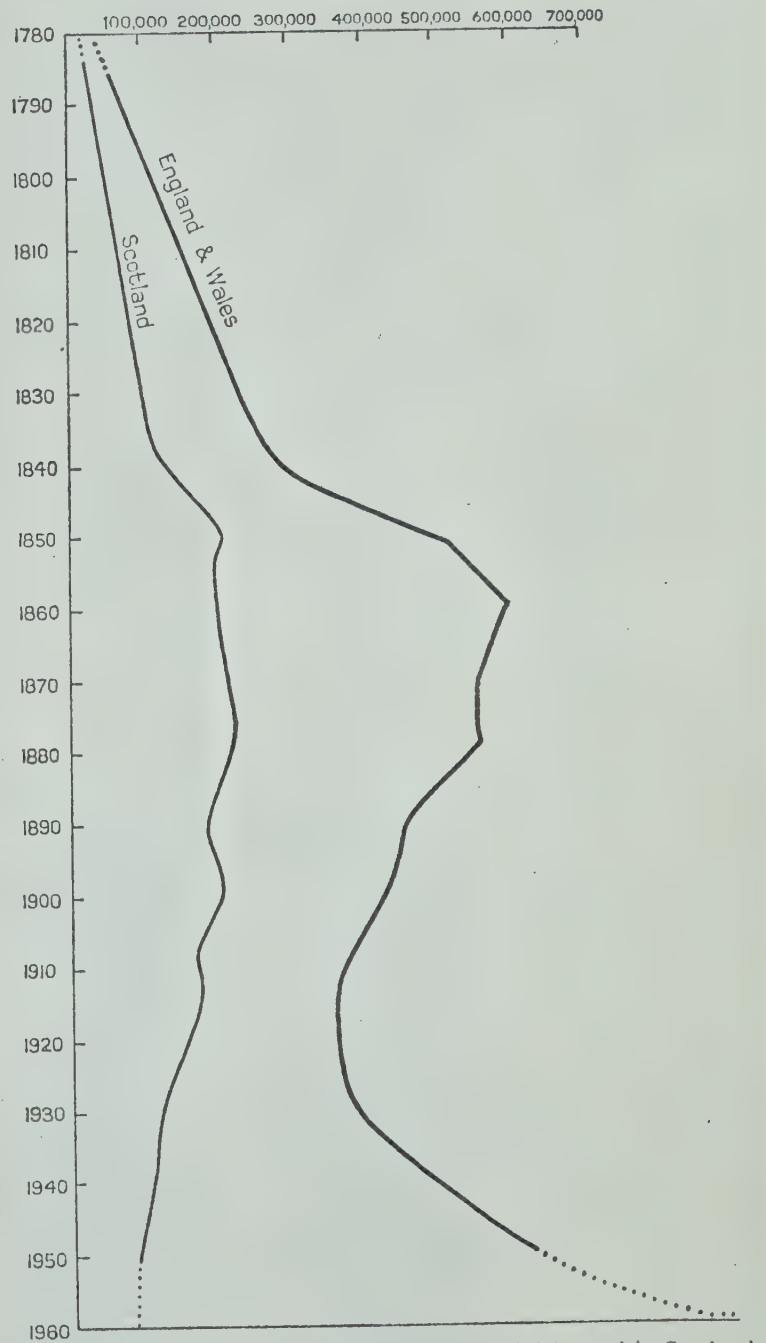
among the crowded population of big cities, must arouse feelings of apprehension and disgust. Among the nasty habits which the Irish have brought with them is that of emptying all their filth and refuse out of the front door, and this causes filthy puddles and heaps of garbage to accumulate and so a whole district is rapidly polluted. The Irish have brought with them the habit of building pigsties immediately adjacent to their houses. If that is not possible, the Irishman allows the pig to share his own sleeping quarters. This new, abnormal method of rearing livestock in the large towns is entirely of Irish origin. The Irishman loves his pig as much as the Arab loves his horse. The only difference is that the Irishman sells his pig when it is fat enough for slaughter. The Irishman eats and sleeps with his pig, the children play with the pig, ride on its back and roll about in the filth with it. Thousands of examples of this may be seen in all the big cities of England. Only those who have actually seen this state of affairs can form an adequate idea how impossible it is to find any home comforts in such incredibly filthy conditions. The Irish are not used to furniture: a heap of straw and a few rags too tattered to wear in the daytime suffice for bedding. The Irish need only a bare plank, a broken chair and an old chest for a table. All that the Irishwoman needs in her kitchen are a teapot, a few saucepans and coarse dishes. The kitchen also serves as a living room and bedroom. If an Irishman is short of fuel, everything within reach is thrown on the fire—chairs, door posts, skirting boards, shelves and floor boards, if they are still there. Why should an Irishman want anything more than the minimum accommodation? At home, in Ireland, he lived in a mud cabin where a single room sufficed for all purposes. In England, too, his family needs no more than one room. And, owing to the immigration of the Irish, this custom of living in one room has spread widely among the English as well. The poor devil must get some pleasure out of life and so he goes and drinks spirits. Society has debared him from other pleasures: Two things make life supportable to the Irishman—his whiskey and his lively, happy-go-lucky disposition. He drinks himself into a state of brutish intoxication. Everything combines to drive the Irishman to drink—his light-hearted temperament, akin to that of the Mediterranean peoples, his coarseness, which drags him down virtually to the level of a savage, his contempt for all normal human pleasures, which he is incapable of appreciating because of his degraded condition, combined with his dirty habits and his abject poverty. The temptation is so great, that he cannot resist it; whenever he has any money in his pocket he tosses it down his throat in the form of whiskey. What else is to be expected? Society treats him in such a way that it is

virtually impossible for him to avoid becoming a drunkard. Society neglects the Irish and allows them to sink into a state bordering upon savagery. How can society complain when the Irishman does, in fact, become a habitual drunkard?

It is with such people that the English workers have to compete. They are competitors whose standard of living is the lowest conceivable in a civilised country and consequently they are able to work for lower wages than anyone else. In the circumstances Carlyle is right when he observes that in all occupations where English and Irish workers compete it is inevitable that the wages earned by the English should be continually forced down to even lower levels. There are many such occupations. All occupations which demand little or no skill are open to the Irish. Of course, the dissolute, volatile, and drunken Irish are unfitted for tasks which demand either a regular apprenticeship or that degree of skill which can only be secured by a long period of unremitting application to one's job. In order to become a mechanic—the English term 'mechanic' includes all those accustomed to handling machinery—or a skilled factory worker, the Irishman would first have to assimilate English civilisation and customs. In other words he would have to become an Englishman. The Irishman, however, is just as capable as the Englishman of undertaking simple tasks involving brute strength rather than skill and precision. So workers in occupations of this kind have to face a flood of Irish competitors, for example, handloom weavers, builders' labourers, porters and odd-job men. Thousands of Irish gain their livelihood in doing jobs of this kind, and it is in these occupations that the infiltration of the Irish on a large scale has led to a lowering of wages, a decline in the standard of life of the workers. And even if the immigrant Irish in other occupations were forced to become more civilised they would still retain a sufficient number of bad habits to have a degrading effect upon their English fellow-workers. An Irish environment would undoubtedly be detrimental to English standards of conduct. A fifth or a quarter of the workers in every big town are either immigrant Irish or the English-born children of immigrant Irish, who have grown up in Irish filth. It is not therefore surprising that the life of the entire working class has been deeply influenced by the strong Irish element in its environment. The habits and the intellectual and moral attitudes—indeed the whole character—of the working class, have been strongly influenced by the Irish immigrants. So it is not surprising that a social class already degraded by industrialisation and its immediate consequences should be still further degraded by having to live alongside and compete with the uncivilised Irish.

APPENDIX III

The number of Irish-born in Britain between 1780 and 1960. Taken from J. A. Jackson, Op. Cit., app.



The Waves of Irish Settlement in England and Wales and in Scotland.

APPENDIX IV

Final divisions on Peel's Maynooth Bill of May, 1845. Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxi (May 29, 1845), pp. 750-53.

List of the Ayes.

Ackers, J.	Deebley, R.
Acton, Col.	Boller, Sir J. Y.
Alexander, N.	Lorrain, H. H.
Allix, J. P.	Campbell, J. H.
Armstrong, F.	Chapman, J.
Archdall, Capt. M.	Cole, Hon. H. A.
Ashley, Lord	Colclough, J. C.
Aston, W.	Colville, G. P.
Austen, Col.	Compton, R. C.
Barley, J. jun.	Copeland, A. G.
Banks, G.	Crawford, W. S.
Bannerman, A.	Curtis, H. B.
Bateson, T.	Dawson, Hon. W. F.
Beckett, W.	Hendon, G.
Beresford, Major	Denson, E. B.
Blackstone, W. S.	O'Shea, J. J.
Blaug, R. J.	Douglas, Sir H.
Booth, Hon. E. P.	Douglas, J. D. S.
Boyd, J.	Duke, Sir J.
Bradshaw, J.	Duncan, G.
Bright, J.	Duncombe, Hon. O.
Brisco, M.	Edwards, C. G.
Brookley, H.	Heron, R. J.
Brookhurst, J.	Hyatt, Sir T.
Brotherton, J.	Hyatt, W.
Brown, C. L. C.	Hyatt, W.
Brown, Col.	Hyatt, F. E.
Bryce, W. H. L.	Hyatt, J.

Adams, P.
Adams, W. B.
Adams, Sir J.
Adams, Lord C.
Adams, J.
Adams, T. S.
Adams, S. L.
Adams, A. F.
Adams, W. O.
Adams, W. R. O.
Adams, C.
Adams, P.
Adams, W. H.
Adams, T.
Adams, E.
Adams, J. H.
Adams, G. A.
Adams, Sir J.
Adams, A.
Adams, B.
Adams, J.
Adams, J. W.
Adams, J.
Adams, W. B.
Adams, Sir R. H.
Adams, J.
Adams, Geo.
Adams, Sir W. G. H.
Adams, Capt.
Adams, H.
Adams, F. W.
Adams, hon. C. E.
Adams, A.
Adams, A.
Adams, G. C.
Adams, C. I.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, Sir R.
Adams, Sir J. H.
Adams, hon. Col.
Adams, D.
Adams, Sir J.
Adams, T.
Adams, J.
Adams, hon. J. P.
Adams, D.

Adams, G. F.
Adams, Sir J.
Adams, J.
Adams, J.
Adams, C. N.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, A. S.
Adams, C. W.
Adams, G.
Adams, J.
Adams, Capt.
Adams, J. P.
Adams, F.
Adams, W.
Adams, Lord
Adams, E. R.
Adams, R.
Adams, Col.
Adams, Col.
Adams, hon. G. D.
Adams, at. hon. F.
Adams, Col.
Adams, A.
Adams, Sir H.
Adams, R.
Adams, Sir S. T.
Adams, E.
Adams, P. M.
Adams, E.
Adams, J. A.
Adams, A.
Adams, J.
Adams, C.
Adams, Sir J.
Adams, E.
Adams, C.
Adams, Sir J. T.
Adams, Col.
Adams, Sir R. R.
Adams, H. S.
Adams, T.
Adams, G. E.
Adams, W.
Adams, J.
Adams, T.
Adams, C.

Adams, G.
Adams, E.
Adams, W. H. P.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, hon. C. C.
Adams, hon. G. H.
Adams, B.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, J. W.
Adams, R. R.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, at. hon. Sir G.
Adams, J. T.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, hon. R. H.
Adams, at. hon. Sir G.
Adams, Sir T. E.
Adams, W.
Adams, M. E.
Adams, at. hon. H.
Adams, Lord
Adams, hon. W. F.
Adams, W. G.
Adams, W.
Adams, hon. Col.
Adams, hon. T. V.
Adams, W. J.
Adams, F. H.
Adams, E.
Adams, G.
Adams, Marq. of
Adams, H. L.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, F.
Adams, D.
Adams, Sir J.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, H.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, H.
Adams, Sir T.
Adams, T. G. R.
Adams, R.
Adams, Col.
Adams, Sir R. A.
Adams, hon. W.
Adams, hon. H.
Adams, Sir P. L.
Adams, Sir J.
Adams, M.
Adams, C. R.
Adams, at. hon. Sir T.
Adams, F.
Adams, J. D.
Adams, J. M.
Adams, T.
Adams, at. hon. W. L.
Adams, Capt.
Adams, R.
Adams, hon. Capt.
Adams, M.
Adams, hon. R.
Adams, at. hon. H.
Adams, at. hon. Sir J.
Adams, Marq. of
Adams, T. C.

Adams, T.
Adams, at. hon. Sir G.
Adams, R. B.
Adams, S. H.
Adams, W. J.
Adams, Lord C.
Adams, G. G.
Adams, Capt. V.
Adams, G. H. W.
Adams, E.
Adams, Lord
Adams, at. hon. S.
Adams, Sir R.
Adams, Lord A.
Adams, J. H.
Adams, at. hon. Sir J.
Adams, hon. W. T. C.
Adams, hon. C.
Adams, G. W.
Adams, L.
Adams, hon. C. A. G.
Adams, hon. E. G. G.
Adams, P. H.
Adams, J.
Adams, W.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, Sir W. C.
Adams, Earl
Adams, Visct.
Adams, F.
Adams, at. hon. H.
Adams, H.
Adams, Lord A.
Adams, at. hon. H. T.
Adams, at. hon. J.
Adams, Earl of
Adams, J.
Adams, W. F.
Adams, Major
Adams, F. A.
Adams, D.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, Lord J.
Adams, W.
Adams, J.
Adams, C. W.
Adams, T. B.
Adams, J.
Adams, H.
Adams, T. A.
Adams, Sir J.
Adams, F. S.
Adams, R.
Adams, at. hon. J.
Adams, Sir J. J.
Adams, J.
Adams, M. J.
Adams, The
Adams, R. M.
Adams, J.
Adams, J.
Adams, J. S.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, J.
Adams, J. W.
Adams, at. hon. Sir R.
Adams, J.

List of the NOES.

Adams, Visct.
Adams, Sir T. P.
Adams, Capt.
Adams, C. B.
Adams, P.
Adams, W.
Adams, R.
Adams, and Surrey,
Adams
Adams, hon. W.
Adams, Col.
Adams, W.
Adams, W.
Adams, H.
Adams, at. hon. F. T.
Adams, T.
Adams, at. hon. W. B.
Adams, E. G.
Adams, Visct.

Adams, R. M.
Adams, Lord G.
Adams, J. I.
Adams, Sir V.
Adams, R.
Adams, W. H.
Adams, H. G.
Adams, F.
Adams, R.
Adams, J.
Adams, Adm.
Adams, Dr.
Adams, T. W.
Adams, hon. W.
Adams, J. S.
Adams, Lord E.
Adams, C.
Adams, E.
Adams, P. S.

Adams, R. M.
Adams, Lord G.
Adams, J. I.
Adams, Sir V.
Adams, R.
Adams, W. H.
Adams, H. G.
Adams, F.
Adams, R.
Adams, J.
Adams, Adm.
Adams, Dr.
Adams, T. W.
Adams, hon. W.
Adams, J. S.
Adams, Lord E.
Adams, C.
Adams, E.
Adams, P. S.

Adams, T.
Adams, at. hon. Sir G.
Adams, R. B.
Adams, S. H.
Adams, W. J.
Adams, Lord C.
Adams, G. G.
Adams, Capt. V.
Adams, G. H. W.
Adams, E.
Adams, Lord
Adams, at. hon. S.
Adams, Sir R.
Adams, Lord A.
Adams, J. H.
Adams, at. hon. Sir J.
Adams, hon. W. T. C.
Adams, hon. C.
Adams, G. W.
Adams, L.
Adams, hon. C. A. G.
Adams, hon. E. G. G.
Adams, P. H.
Adams, J.
Adams, W.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, Sir W. C.
Adams, Earl
Adams, Visct.
Adams, F.
Adams, at. hon. H.
Adams, H.
Adams, Lord A.
Adams, at. hon. H. T.
Adams, at. hon. J.
Adams, Earl of
Adams, J.
Adams, W. F.
Adams, Major
Adams, F. A.
Adams, D.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, Lord J.
Adams, W.
Adams, J.
Adams, C. W.
Adams, T. B.
Adams, J.
Adams, H.
Adams, T. A.
Adams, Sir J.
Adams, F. S.
Adams, R.
Adams, at. hon. J.
Adams, Sir J. J.
Adams, J.
Adams, M. J.
Adams, The
Adams, R. M.
Adams, J.
Adams, J.
Adams, J. S.
Adams, Visct.
Adams, J.
Adams, J. W.
Adams, at. hon. Sir R.
Adams, J.

Pederners, E. W.	Tennant, J. D.
Philips, G. R.	Thesiger, Sir F.
Phillipotts, J.	Tollemache, hon. F. J.
Pigot, rt. hon. D.	Tomline, G.
Pigot, Sir R.	Towneley, J.
Power, J.	Trelawny, J. S.
Preed, W. T.	Trench, Sir F. W.
Pusty, P.	Trevor, hon. G. R.
Rawden, Col.	Tuite, H. M.
Rehington, T. N.	Vane, Lord P.
Repton, G. W. J.	Vernon, G. H.
Roche, E. B.	Villiers, Visct.
Roebuck, J. A.	Walker, R.
Roas, D. R.	Wall, C. B.
Round, J.	Warburton, H.
Rous, Capt.	Watson, W. H.
Rumbold, C. E.	Wawn, J. T.
Russell, Lord J.	Wellesley, Lord C.
Russell, Lord E.	Wemyss, Capt.
Russell, C.	Westons, hon. J.
Sandon, Visct.	White, S.
Seymour, Lord	Whitmore, T. C.
Seymour, Sir H. B.	White, Sir T.
Sheil, rt. hon. R. L.	Wilshire, W.
Smith, B.	Wilmington, Sir F.
Smith, rt. hon. T. B. C.	Wood, C.
Somerset, Lord G.	Wood, Col. T.
Somerville, Sir W. M.	Worsley, Lord
Somes, J.	Wortley, hon. J. S.
Stanfield, W. R. C.	Wrightson, W. B.
Stanton, W. H.	Wynn, rt. hon. C. W. W.
Stanton, Sir G. T.	Wynn, Sir W. W.
Stuart, Lord J.	Wyse, T.
Stuart, W. V.	Yorke, hon. E. T.
Strutt, E.	TELLERS.
Sutton, hon. H. M.	Younge, J.
Tencred, H. W.	Baring, H.

House adjourned at a quarter past two o'clock.

APPENDIX V

The divisions on Peel's Coercion bill of May 1 and June 25, 1846.

The difference is indicative of the Tory desire to bring down Peel because of his stand on the repeal of the Corn Laws. Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. lxxxv (May 1, 1845), pp. 1406-9; Ibid., vol. lxxxvii (June 25, 1846), pp. 127-32.

May 1, 1846.

List of the Ayes

Acland, Sir T. D.	Bailey, J., jun.
Acland, T. D.	Baillie, Col.
A'Court, Capt.	Baillie, H. J.
Acton, Col.	Baillie, W.
Ainsworth, P.	Baldwin, B.
Alexander, N.	Balfour, J. M.
Alford, Visct.	Bantoe, G.
Antrobus, E.	Barkly, H.
Arbuthnot, hon. H.	Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Archdall, Capt. M.	Baring, T.
Arkwright, G.	Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Austen, Col.	Barrington, Visct.
Bagot, hon. W.	Baskerville, T. B. M.

Bateson, T.
Becket, W.
Benbow, J.
Bennet, P.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Bentinck, Lord H.
Beresford, Maj.
Blackburne, J. J.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Bowles, Adm.
Boyd, J.
Bramston, T. W.
Brisco, M.
Broadley, H.
Broadwood, H.
Brooke, Lord
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Brown, hon. W.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buckley, E.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Campbell, Sir H.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, W. H. P.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Cavendish, hon. G. H.
Chelsea, Visct.
Chichester, Lord J. L.
Cholmondeley, hon. H.
Christopher, R. A.
Clute, W. L. W.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.
Clifton, J. T.
Clive, Visct.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cockburn, rt. hon. Sir G.
Collett, W. R.
Compton, H. C.
Conolly, Col.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Copeland, Ald.
Corry, rt. hon. H.
Courtenay, Lord
Cowper, hon. W. F.
Cripps, W.
Damer, hon. Col.
Davis, D. A.
Deedes, W.
Denison, J. E.
Denison, F. B.
Dickinson, F. H.
Dodd, G.
Douglas, Sir H.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douglas, J. D. H.
Duckworth, Sir J. T. B.
Dugdale, W. S.
Duncannon, Visct.
Duncombe, hon. A.
Duncombe, hon. O.
East, J. B.
Eastnor, Visct.
Egerton, W. T.
Egerton, Sir P.
Emlyn, Visct.
Entwistle, W.
Escombe, T. G. B.
Fildon, W.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.

Filmer, Sir E.
Fitzmaurice, hon. W.
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Flower, Sir J.
Floyer, J.
Forbes, W.
Forester, hon. G. C. W.
Forman, T. S.
Fox, C. R.
Fox, S. J.
Frewen, C. H.
Fuller, A. E.
Gardner, J. D.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, Capt.
Glynne, Sir S. R.
Godson, R.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Gore, W. O.
Gore, W. R. O.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hon. Sir J.
Granby, Marq. of
Greene, T.
Gregory, W. H.
Grimsditch, T.
Grogan, E.
Guest, Sir J.
Hall, Col.
Hallyburton, Lord J. F.
Halsey, T. P.
Hamilton, J. H.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Hammer, Sir J.
Harcourt, G. G.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Hayes, Sir E.
Henthcote, Sir W.
Henley, J. W.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Hervey, Lord A.
Hodgson, F.
Hodgson, R.
Hogg, J. W.
Holmes, hon. W. A.
Hope, Sir J.
Hope, A.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Hotham, Lord
Houldsworth, T.
Howard, hon. C. W. G.
Howard, hon. E. G. G.
Howard, Sir R.
Hudson, G.
Hughes, W. B.
Hussey, T.
Ingestre, Visct.
Inglish, Sir R. H.
James, Sir W. C.
Jernyn, Earl
Johnstone, Sir J.
Johnstone, H.
Jones, Capt.
Kelly, Sir F.
Kemble, H.
Knightly, Sir C.
Labouchere, rt. hon. H.
Lambton, H.
Laucelles, E.
Laucelles, hon. W. S.

Lawson, A.
Lefroy, A.
Legh, G. C.
Lennon, Sir C.
Lindsay, hon. Capt.
Lockhart, W.
Lowther, Sir J. H.
Lyall, G.
Mackenzie, T.
Mackinnon, W. A.
McNeill, D.
Mahon, Visct.
Manners, Lord C. S.
Martin, C. W.
Masterman, J.
Maxwell, hon. J. P.
Meynell, Capt.
Midway, H. St. J.
Miles, P. W. S.
Miles, W.
Milnes, R. M.
Morgan, O.
Morpeth, Visct.
Munday, F. M.
Neeld, J.
Neville, R.
Newry, Visct.
Norreys, Lord
Northland, Visct.
Ossulston, Lord
Pakington, J. S.
Palmer, R.
Palmerston, Visct.
Patten, J. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pennant, hon. Col.
Plumptre, J. P.
Polhill, F.
Powell, Col.
Rashleigh, W.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Reid, Col.
Repton, G. W. J.
Rice, E. R.
Richards, R.
Rolleston, Col.
Round, C. G.
Round, J.
Rumbold, C. E.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, C.

Russell, J. D. W.
Rutherford, A.
Sanderson, R.
Sandon, Visct.
Scott, hon. F.
Seymour, H. K.
Seymour, Lord
Seymour, Sir H. B.
Shelburne, Earl of
Shirley, E. J.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. R. V.
Smythe, hon. G.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somerton, Visct.
Sotherton, T. H. S.
Spooner, R.
Stanley, hon. W. O.
Standfield, W. R. C.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, E.
Thesiger, Sir F.
Thompson, Ald.
Tollennache, hon. F. J.
Tollennache, J.
Tondine, G.
Tower, C.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trollope, Sir J.
Trotter, J.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Verner, Col.
Vernon, G. H.
Villiers, Visct.
Vyse, R. H. R. H.
Waddington, H. S.
Walpole, S. H.
Walsh, Sir J. B.
Wellesley, Lord C.
Winnington, Sir T.
Wodehouse, E.
Wood, C.
Wood, Col.
Wood, Col. T.
Worcester, Marq. of
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wrightson, W. B.

TELLERS.

Young, J.
Baring, H.

List of the NOES.

Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Archbold, R.
Armstrong, Sir A.
Baine, W.
Bannerman, A.
Barnard, E. G.
Barron, Sir H. W.
Bell, J.
Bellew, R. M.
Berkeley, hon. H. F.
Blake, M. J.
Blewitt, R. J.
Bouverie, hon. E. P.
Bowes, J.
Bowring, Dr.
Bridgeman, H.
Bright, J.
Brotherton, J.

Browne, R. D.
Busfield, W.
Butler, hon. Col.
Butler, P. S.
Carew, hon. R. S.
Cavendish, hon. C. G.
Chapman, R.
Christie, W. D.
Cobden, R.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collett, J.
Collins, W.
Corbally, M. E.
Crawford, W. S.
Curtis, H. B.
Dalrymple, Capt.
Dawson, hon. T. V.
D'Eyncourt, rt. hon. C. T.
Duff, J.

Duke, Sir J.	O'Connell, D.
Duncan, Visct.	O'Connell, M.
Duncan, G.	O'Connell, J.
Duncombe, T.	O'Connor Don.
Escott, B.	Ogle, S. C. H.
Esmonde, Sir T.	Paget, Col.
Evans, Sir De L.	Pattison, J.
Ewart, W.	Peckell, Capt.
Fielden, J.	Philips, M.
Fitzgerald, R. A.	Pigot, rt. hon. D.
Fitzroy, Lord C.	Plumridge, Capt.
Fitzwilliam, hon. G. W.	Ponsonby, hn. C. F. A.
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.	Powell, C.
Forster, M.	Power, J.
Gore, hon. R.	Protheroe, E.
Granger, T. C.	Rawdon, Col.
Grattan, H.	Ricardo, J. L.
Hall, Sir B.	Rich, H.
Hatton, Capt. V.	Reback, J. A.
Hawes, B.	Romilly, J.
Hay, Sir A. L.	Ross, D. R.
Henrage, E.	Russell, Lord E.
Hindley, C.	Serape, G. P.
Holland, R.	Somers, J. P.
Horsman, E.	Somerville, Sir W. M.
Humphery, Ald.	Strickland, Sir G.
Kelly, J.	Strutt, E.
Langston, J. H.	Tancred, H. W.
Layard, Capt.	Thomely, T.
Macnamara, Maj.	Trelawny, J. S.
McCarthy, A.	Turner, E.
McTaggart, Sir J.	Villiers, hon. C.
Marjoribanks, S.	Wakley, T.
Marshall, W.	Wall, C. B.
Marshall, H.	Warburton, H.
Milton, Visct.	Ward, H. G.
Mitchell, T. A.	Watson, W. H.
Moffatt, G.	Wawn, J. T.
Molesworth, Sir W.	Williams, W.
Morris, D.	Worsley, Lord
Mostyn, hon. E. M. L.	Wyse, T.
Napier, Sir C.	Yorke, H. R.
Norreys, Sir J. D.	
O'Brien, J.	
O'Brien, T.	

TELLERS.

Roche, E. B.
O'Connell, M. J.

June 25, 1846.

List of the AYES.

Ackers, J.
Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, T. D.
A'Court, Capt.
Adams, Visct.
Admiral, C. B.
Almon, P.
Alexander, N.
Alford, Visct.
Antrabus, E.
Arbuthnot, hon. H.
Atell, W.
Austin, Col.
Bagot, hon. W.
Baillie, Col.
Baillie, H. J.
Baldwin, B.
Baskin, H.
Baring, T.
Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Bateson, T.
Beckett, W.
Bell, M.
Benbow, J.
Bernard, Visct.
Blackburne, J. I.
Bodkin, W. H.
Botfield, B.
Bowles, Adm.
Boyd, J.
Bramston, T. W.
Briscoe, M.
Broadley, H.
Brooke, Sir J. B.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bruger, W. H.
Buckley, E.
Burroughes, H. N.
Campbell, Sir H.
Cardwell, E.
Casson, W. H. P.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Chandos, Marq. of
Chandos, Visct.
Chelmsford, Lord J. L.
Cholmondeley, hon. H.
Chute, W. L. W.
Clements, Visct.
Clark, rt. hon. Sir G.
Clive, Visct.
Clive, Lord R. H.
Cockburn, rt. hon. Sir G.
Cole, hon. H. A.
Collett, W. R.
Compton, H. C.
Connolly, Col.
Coote, Sir C. B.
Corry, rt. hon. H.
Courtenay, Lord
Cripps, W.
Damer, Lord Col.
Davis, D. A. S.
Deedes, W.
Denison, E. B.
Dickinson, F. H.
Dodd, G.
Douglas, Sir H.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Douro, Marq. of
Dowdeswell, W.
Drummond, H. H.
Duckworth, Sir J. T. B.
Dugdale, W.
Du Pre, C. G.
East, J. H.
Easton, Visct.
Egerton, W. T.
Egerton, Sir P.
Emlin, Visct.
Entwistle, W.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Faulder, W.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Fisher, Sir E.
Fitzmaurice, hon. W.
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Flower, Sir J.
Forbes, W.
Forester, hon. G. C. W.
Forman, T. S.
Fox, S. L.
Gardner, J. D.
Glynne, Sir S. R.
Godson, F.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Gore, W. C.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hon. Sir J.
Greene, T.
Gregory, W. H.

Gradeditch, T.
Grogan, E.
Hale, R. B.
Hall, Col.
Hamilton, J. H.
Hamilton, G.
Hamilton, W. J.
Harrington, Lord C.
Hampden, R.
Hannay, Sir J.
Hayes, Sir E.
Hemage, G. H. W.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Hervey, Lord A.
Hedgson, F.
Hogg, J. W.
Holmes, hon. W. C.
Hogge, A.
Hope, G. W.
Hoskyns, J.
Hoskyns, Lord
Hughes, W. B.
Ingles, Sir R. H.
James, Sir W. C.
Jermy, Earl
Jocelyn, Visct.
Johnstone, Sir J.
Johnstone, H.
Jones, Capt.
Kelly, Sir J.
Kemble, P.
Ker, D. S.
Kirk, P.
Lascelles, hon. E.
Lascelles, hon. W. S.
Lefroy, A.
Legh, G. C.
Lemon, Sir C.
Leslie, C. P.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lindsay, hon. Capt.
Lockhart, A. E.
Lockhart, W.
Lyall, G.
Lygon, hon. Gen.
Mackenzie, T.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Mackinnon, W. A.
McNeill, D.
Mahon, Visct.
Malins, Visct.
Manners, Lord G. S.
Masterton, J.
Maunsell, T. P.
Meynell, Capt.
Mildmay, H. St. J.
Murray, O.
Mundy, E. M.
Neville, R.
Neville, Visct.
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
Northland, Visct.
Oswald, A.
Owen, Sir J.
Paget, Lord W.
Palmer, R.
Patten, J. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pennant, hon. Col.
Polhill, F.
Powell, Col.
Reid, Col.
Richards, R.
Round, C. G.
Round, J.
Rusland, C. E.
Russell, C.
Russell, J. D. W.
Ryder, hon. G. D.
Sanderson, R.
Sandon, Visct.
Seymour, H. R.
Seymour, Sir H. B.
Shaw, rt. hon. P.
Sheppard, T.
Shirley, E. J.
Shirley, E.
Smith, A.
Syme, hon. G.
Smyth, A.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somerton, Visct.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Spencer, R.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tadger, Sir F.
Tollmach, hon. F. J.
Tollmach, J.
Tomlin, G.
Tower, C.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Trotter, J.
Verner, Col.
Vernon, G. H.
Vesey, hon. T.
Villiers, Visct.
Vivian, J. E.
Welby, G. E.
Wellesley, Lord C.
Wood, Col.
Wood, Col. T.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, rt. hon. C. W. W.
TELLERS,
Young, J.
Baring, H.

List of the NOES.

Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Allix, J. P.
Anson, hon. Col.
Archibald, J.
Armstrong, Sir A.
Arncliffe and Surrey,
Earl of
Baker, W.
Baker, W.
Baker, W.
Banks, G.
Bannerman, A.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Barnard, E. G.
Barron, Sir H. W.
Bellew, R. W.
Benett, J.
Bennet, P.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Bentinck, Lord H.
Beresford, Major

Berkeley, hon. C.	Evans, W.	Maher, H.	Pollerton, Col.
Berkeley, hon. Capt.	Farna, Sir De L.	Mantland, T.	Randilly, J.
Berkeley, hon. H. F.	Fewart, W.	Mangles, R. D.	Rosa, D. R.
Berkeley, hon. G. F.	Fellowes, E.	Manners, Lord J.	Russell, Lord J.
Bernal, R.	Ferguson, Col.	March, Earl of	Russell, Lord F.
Blackstone, W. S.	Finch, G.	Marjoribanks, S.	Rutherford, A.
Blake, M. J.	Fitzgerald, R. A.	Marshall, W.	Scott, R.
Black, J. J.	Fitzroy, Lord C.	Marsland, H.	Scrope, G. F.
Borthwick, P.	Fitzwilliam, hon. G. W.	Martin, J.	Seymour, Lord
Beauverie, hon. E. P.	Fleetwood, Sir P. H.	Matheson, J.	Sheil, rt. hon. R. L.
Bowen, J.	Forster, M.	Maule, rt. hon. F.	Shelburne, Earl of
Bowring, Dr.	French, F.	Miles, W.	Sherridan, R. B.
Bradshaw, J.	Fulker, A. Y.	Milnes, R. M.	Sibthorp, Col.
Bradenham, H.	Gibson, T. M.	Milton, Visct.	Smith, J. A.
Bright, J.	Gill, T.	Micallef, H.	Smith, rt. hon. R. V.
Broadwood, H.	Gisborne, T.	Mitchell, T. A.	Somers, J. P.
Brocklehurst, J.	Gooch, E. S.	Moffatt, G.	Stanley, E.
Brotherton, J.	Gore, hon. R.	Molesworth, Sir W.	Stanley, hon. W. O.
Brown, E. D.	Goring, C.	Morpeth, Visct.	Stansfield, W. R. C.
Buck, L. W.	Granby, Marq. of	Morris, D.	Stanton, Sir G. T.
Bulkeley, Sir R. B. W.	Granger, T. C.	Mostyn, hon. E. M. L.	Stuart, Lord J.
Buller, C.	Gratten, H.	Muntz, G. F.	Stuart, W. V.
Buller, E.	Gry, rt. hon. Sir G.	Napier, Sir C.	Stuart, J.
Buller, Sir J. Y.	Gravenor, Lord R.	Neeld, J.	Strickland, Sir G.
Burrell, Sir C. M.	Gucet, Sir J.	Newdegate, C. N.	Stuart, E.
Burfield, W.	Hall, Sir B.	Newport, Visct.	Tancred, H. W.
Burg, G.	Hallyburton, Ld. J. P. G.	Norries, Lord	Taylor, J. A.
Burg, rt. hon. G. S.	Halsey, T. P.	Norries, Sir D. J.	Thompson, A. C.
Callaghan, D.	Harcourt, G. G.	O'Brien, A. S.	Thornely, T.
Carew, hon. R. S.	Harris, hon. Capt.	O'Brien, W. S.	Townley, J.
Cavendish, hon. C. C.	Hastie, A.	O'Brien, T.	Trall, G.
Cavendish, hon. O. H.	Hatton, Capt. V.	O'Connell, J.	Trshawny, J. S.
Chapman, B.	Hawes, B.	O'Connell, M.	Trotter, Sir J.
Christie, W. P.	Hayter, W. G.	O'Connell, M. J.	Tuite, H. M.
Christopher, R. A.	Heathcoat, J.	O'Connell, J.	Turner, E.
Churchill, Lord A. S.	Heathcote, G. J.	O'Connor Don	Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Clay, Sir W.	Heneage, E.	O'Ferrall, R. M.	Vane, Lord H.
Colden, R.	Henley, J. W.	Ogle, S. C. H.	Villiers, hon. C.
Coleridge, Sir T. L.	Heron, Sir R.	Ord, W.	Vivian, hon. Capt.
Collett, J.	Hinde, J. H.	Osborne, R.	Vyse, R. H. R. H.
Collins, W.	Mindley, C.	Oswald, J.	Vyvan, Sir R. B.
Corbally, M. E.	Molhouse, rt. hon. Sir J.	Packer, C. W.	Washington, H. S.
Cowper, hon. W. F.	Mulford, R.	Paget, Col.	Wakley, T.
Craig, W. G.	Hormann, E.	Palmerston, Visct.	Wall, C. B.
Crawford, W. S.	Howard, hon. C. W. G.	Parker, J.	Warburton, H.
Curtis, H. B.	Howard, hon. E. G. G.	Pattison, J.	Ward, H. G.
Dalway, Lord	Hudson, G.	Pechell, Capt.	Watson, W. H.
Dalrymple, Capt.	Hume, J.	Pendarves, E. W. W.	Wawa, J. T.
Dawson, hon. T. V.	Humphery, Ald.	Philips, Sir R. B. P.	White, S.
Denison, W. J.	Hurst, R. H.	Pigot, rt. hon. D.	Wilde, Sir T.
Denison, J. E.	Hussey, T.	Plumridge, Capt.	Williams, W.
Dennistown, J.	Hutt, W.	Pollington, Visct.	Winnington, Sir T. E.
DEyncourt, rt. hon. C. T.	Ison, S.	Ponsonby, hon. C. F. A. C.	Wodhouse, E.
Dick, Q.	Jervis, J.	Powell, C.	Wood, C.
Disraeli, B.	Johnson, Gen.	Power, J.	Worcester, Marq. of
Duff, J.	Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.	Price, Sir J.	Worley, Lord
Duke, Sir J.	Kelly, J.	Protheroe, E.	Wrightson, W. B.
Duncan, Visct.	Knight, F. W.	Pulford, R.	Wynham, J. H. C.
Duncan, G.	Knightley, Sir C.	Randleigh, W.	Wye, T.
Duncannon, Visct.	Labouchere, rt. hon. H.	Rodriguez, T. N.	Yerke, hon. E. T.
Duncombe, T.	Lambton, H.	Pendleham, Lord	Yerke, H. R.
Duncombe, hon. O.	Langton, J. H.	Ricardo, J. L.	TALIBS.
Dundas, Adm.	Layard, Capt.	Rich, H.	Hill, Lord M.
Dundas, P.	Lennox, Lord G. H. G.	Roebuck, J. A.	Souernville, Sir W.
Dundas, D.	Liddell, hon. H. T.		
Easthope, Sir J.	Loch, J.		
Edinburgh, Visct.	Long, W.		
Ellice, rt. hon. E.	Lowther, hon. Col.		
Ellice, E.	Macaulay, rt. hon. T. B.		
Elphinstone, Sir H.	Macnamara, Major		
Escott, B.	McCarthy, A.		
Farnes, Sir T.	McDonald, J. M.		
Eswell, R.	McLaggart, Sir J.		

Paired off

AGAINST.

Acheson, Lord
B. J.
Blake, Sir V.
Baker, P. S.
Bosley, J. J.
Caldwell, C. B.

FOR.

Copeland, Ald.
Blackmore, P.
Piaz, W. T.
Maxwell, hon. J.
Bren, Col.
Egerton, Lord F.

AGAINST.	FOR.
Howard, hon. J. K.	Gladstone, Capt.
Howard, hon. H.	Hoppe, Sir J.
Casley, E. S.	Pakington, J. S.
Langton, G.	Raid, Sir J.
Lisowski, Lord	Lindsay, H.
Maclean, D.	Ashley, hon. H.
O'Brien, C.	Attwood, J.
O'Brien, J.	Hepburn, Sir T.
Paget, Sir E.	Whitmore, T. C.
Rawden, Col.	Acton, Col.
Rice, E. R.	Darrington, Lord
Troubridge, Sir T.	Gore, W. O.
Tufnell, H.	McGeachy, F. A.
White, H.	Cresswell, B.
Phillips, M.	Grimesditch, T.
Attwood, F. I.	Smyth, Sir H.
Leader, J. T.	Martin, C. W.
Hildyard, T. B.	Frowen, C. H.

Absent.

Archdall, Capt.	Hussey, A.
Arkwright, G.	Ingestre, Lord
Bailey, J.	James, W.
Balfour, J. M.	Kerrison, Sir E.
Barely, D.	Law, hon. C. E.
Barneby, J.	Lawton, A.
Baskerville, T.	Lopes, Sir R.
Elswitt, R. J.	Lowther, Sir J.
Baldere, H. G.	Martin, T. B.
Brooke, Lord	Marton, G.
Browne, hon. W.	Miles, P. W. S.
Browning, S.	Morgan, C.
Bruce, C.	Morrison, Gen.
Castlereagh, Visct.	Morrison, J.
Chapman, A.	Neeld, J.
Clayton, R. R.	Orabuton, Lord
Chambers, J. T.	Paget, Lord A.
Codrington, Sir W.	Palmer, G.
Colquhoun, J. C.	Phillips, G. R.
Currie, R.	Phillipotts, J.
Dashwood, G. H.	Plumptre, J.
Divott, E.	Price, R.
Drax, J. S. W.	Pryce, P.
Duncombe, hon. A.	Pusey, P.
Dundas, T.	Repton, G.
Eaton, R. J.	Roebe, D.
Ellis, W.	Scott, hon. F.
Farnham, M. B.	Smith, B.
Ferrand, W. B.	Spay, Sir S. T.
Fidliott, J.	Stendish, C.
Fielden, J.	Stanton, W. H.
Floyer, J.	Talbot, C. R. M.
Fox, C. R.	Taylor, Capt.
Gasrell, J. M.	Thornhill, J.
Halford, Sir H.	Turnor, C.
Hamilton, C. B.	Vivian, J.
Hardy, J.	Walker, R.
Hay, Sir A. L.	Walpole, S.
Hartthote, Sir W.	Walsh, Sir J. B.
Heron, Sir R.	Wemyss, J.
Hill, Lord E.	Weston, Col.
Hodgson, E.	Williams, T. P.
Hoskins, K.	Wilshire, W.
Housworth, T.	Wyndham, Col.
Howard, P. H.	Wynn, Sir W.

ANALYSIS.—ENGLAND.

FOR THE SECOND READING.	AGAINST THE SECOND READING.
Counties . . . 56	Counties . . . 58
Boroughs . . . 97	Boroughs . . . 154
Universities . . . 3	Universities . . . 0
Total . . . —156	Total . . . —212

WALES.

Counties . . . 12	Counties . . . 2
Boroughs . . . 4	Boroughs . . . 5
Total . . . —16	Total . . . —7

SCOTLAND.

Counties . . . 14	Counties . . . 0
Boroughs . . . 2	Boroughs . . . 16
Total . . . —16	Total . . . —26

IRELAND.

Counties . . . 15	Counties . . . 25
Boroughs . . . 14	Boroughs . . . 23
University . . . 2	Total . . . —48
Total . . . —31	

Grand total for the second reading . . . 210	Grand total against the second reading . . . 262
Majority against the Bill . . . 73	

VACANT.—Sudbury, 2. Carlow County, 1; Kilkenny County, 1: Total 4. Speaker 1. Grand total, 688.

Main Question as amended agreed to. Bill put off for six months.

RATEABLE PROPERTY (IRELAND).

The EARL of LINCOLN moved for leave to bring in a Bill to regulate the valuation of rateable property in Ireland. It would be within the recollection of the House that last year a Bill had been introduced into the House to amend the system of valuing land in Ireland, but it was considered defective, and had been accordingly dropped. The present measure, he hoped, would obviate the evils which had proved fatal to the Bill of last year. He would propose that evening to lay the Bill on the Table without further comment, believing that he would best consult the convenience of the House to reserve details for a future occasion. It was his intention to propose the second reading on a distant day, in order to give time for due consideration.

Leave given. Bill brought in and read a first time

BIRTH OF A PRINCESS—ROYAL MESSAGE.

COLONEL D. DAMER, Comptroller of the Household, appeared at the bar, and announced that Her Majesty had received the Address of the House of the 25th of May, and had returned the following answer:—

"I have received with satisfaction your loyal and dutiful Address.

"I thank you for this proof of your attachment to Me and to My Family."

House adjourned at a quarter past Two o'clock.

The Bill of Mr. Russell's Coercion Bill of November 30, 1847.
 Debates in the House of Commons, 3rd series, vol. xiv (Nov. 30, 1847), pp. 361-5.

{COMMONS}

(Ireland).

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[First Division. It is unnecessary to repeat the list, and we have designated the absence on the second Division.]

List of the AYES.

Adair, H. E.	Dundas, Sir D.
Adair, R. A. S.	Dundas, G.
Anson, hon. Col.	Dunne, F. P.
Attwood, J.	Edwards, H.
Bagshaw, J.	Evans, J.
Bailey, J.	Evans, W.
Baines, M. T.	Farrer, J.
*Baring, H. B.	Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.	Fitzpatrick, J. W.
Barnard, E. G.	Fitzroy, hon. H.
Barrington, Visct.	Fitzwilliam, hon. G. W.
Beckett, W.	Foley, J. H. H.
Bellew, R. M.	Forbes, W.
Benbow, J.	Fordyce, A. D.
*Beresford, W.	Fortescue, hon. J. W.
Berkeley, hon. Capt.	Fox, W. J.
Bernal, R.	Freeston, Col.
Bernard, Visct.	French, F.
Birch, Sir T. B.	Frewen, C. H.
Blackall, S. W.	Gibson, rt. hon. T. M.
Bourke, R. S.	Glyn, G. C.
Bowring, Dr.	Grace, O. D. J.
Bramston, T. W.	Graham, rt. hon. Sir J.
Brand, T.	Granby, Marq. of
Bremridge, R.	Grattan, H.
Broadwood, H.	Greenall, G.
Brockman, E. D.	Greene, T.
Brooke, Lord	Greenfell, C. P.
Brotherton, J.	Grenfell, C. W.
Brown, H.	Grey, rt. hon. Sir G.
Bruce, Lord E.	Grey, R. W.
Buller, Sir J. Y.	Grogan, E.
Bunbury, E. H.	Gwyn, H.
Burke, Sir T. J.	*Hall, Sir B.
Campbell, hon. W. F.	Hallyburton, Ed. J. F. G.
Cardwell, E.	Hamilton, G. A.
Carew, W. H. P.	Hamilton, J. H.
Carter, J. B.	Hastie, A.
Castlereagh, Visct.	Headlam, T. E.
Caulfield, Col.	Henley, J. W.
Cavendish, hon. C. C.	Herbert, H. A.
Cavendish, W. G.	Heywood, J.
Chichester, Lord J. L.	Hindley, C.
Clay, J.	Hodges, T. L.
Clements, hon. C. S.	Hodgson, W. N.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.	Hood, Sir A.
Cockburn, A. J. E.	Horsman, E.
Codrington, Sir W.	Hudson, G.
Collins, W.	Hutt, W.
Corbally, M. E.	Inglis, Sir R. H.
Cowper, hon. W. F.	Jackson, W.
Cripps, W.	Jervis, Sir J.
Curtis, H. B.	Jervis, J.
Davie, Sir H. R. F.	Joeclyn, Visct.
Deedes, W.	Keogh, W.
Deering, J. P.	Keppel, hon. G. T.
Disraeli, B.	Ker, R.
Dixon, J.	Labouchere, rt. hon. H.
Dodd, G.	Lennox, Lord A.
Drummond, H.	Lewis, G. C.
Duckworth, Sir J. T. B.	Lindsay, hon. Col.
Duff, G. S.	Luttrell, hon. E. R.
Duke, Sir J.	Lockhart, W.
Dunelf, J.	McGregor, J.
Dundas, Adm.	McNaghten, Sir E.

* Absent from the second division.

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Crime and Outrage

{Nov. 30}

(Ire

McTavish, G. C.	Sadler, J.
Magan, W. H.	Serape, G. P.
*Maher, N. V.	Seymour, Lord
Mahon, The O'Gorman	Shafte, R. D.
Maitland, T.	Sheil, rt. hon. R. L.
Marshall, J. G.	Sheridan, R. B.
Martin, G. W.	Simeon, J.
Martin, S.	Smith, J. B.
Matheson, A.	Somerville, rt. hon. Sir W.
Matheson, Col.	Sotheron, T. H. S.
Maxwell, hon. J. P.	Spooner, R.
Melgund, Visct.	Stafford, A. O'B.
Mitchell, T. A.	*Staunton, Sir G. T.
*Mollatt, G.	Strutt, rt. hon. E.
Monsell, W.	Stuart, Lord D.
Moore, G. H.	Stuart, J.
Morgan, O.	Sutton, J. H. M.
Morpeth, Visct.	Talfourd, Serj.
Mowatt, F.	Taylor, T. E.
Mulgrave, Earl of	Tenison, E. K.
Norreys, Sir D. J.	Tennent, R. J.
Nugent, Sir P.	Thicknesse, R. A.
O'Brien, Sir L.	Thompson, Col.
O'Connell, M. J.	Thornely, T.
Ogle, S. C. H.	Towneley, J.
*Ord, W.	*Townley, R. G.
Oswald, A.	Turner, E.
Paget, Lord C.	Verner, Sir W.
Paget, Lord G.	Verney, Sir H.
Palmer, R.	*Villiers, hon. C.
Palmer, R.	Vivian, J. E.
Palmerston, Visct.	Vivian, J. H.
Parker, J.	Walmesley, Sir J.
Patten, J. W.	*Walsh, Sir J. B.
Pearson, C.	Ward, H. G.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.	Watkins, Col. L.
Peel, Col.	Wawn, J. T.
Perket, R.	West, F. R.
Peto, S. M.	Westhead, J. P.
Pigott, F.	Willcox, B. M.
Pilkington, J.	Williams, J.
Pinney, W.	Wilmoughby, Sir H.
Plumptre, J. P.	Wilson, M.
Plowden, W. H. C.	Wood, rt. hon. Sir C.
Price, Sir R.	Wood, W. P.
Pusey, P.	Wortley, rt. hon. J. S.
Raphael, A.	Wrightson, W. B.
Rawdon, Col.	Wyld, J.
Repton, G. W. J.	Wyvill, M.
Ricardo, O.	Yorke, H. E. R.
Rice, E. R.	
Rufford, F.	
Russell, Lord J.	
Russell, F. C. H.	

TELLERS.

Rich, H.
Tufnell, H.*List of the NOES.*

Anstey, T. C.	O'Connor, F.
Blewitt, R. J.	O'Flaherty, A.
Devereux, J. T.	Power, N.
Egan, W.	Reynolds, J.
Fox, R. M.	Scholefield, W.
Greene, Capt.	Scully, F.
Keating, R.	*Seeley, C.
Lushington, C.	Thompson, G.
Meagher, T.	
Morgan, H. K. G.	
O'Brien, T.	
*O'Connell, M.	

TELLERS.

Crawford, W. S.
Wakley, T.

* Absent from the second division.

† Voted with the Ayes on the second division.

APPENDIX VII

Divisions on Russell's Bill to suspend Habeas Corpus on July 22, 1848. Parliamentary debates (House of Commons), 3rd series, vol. c (July 22, 1848), p. 756.

It was merely stated:.

The House divided on the Question. It is unnecessary to list the votes in favour of the motion. The following were opposed:

Callaghan, D.
Devereux, J. T.
Fox, R. H.
Greene, J.
O'Connor, F.
Reynolds, J.
Scully, F.
Sullivan, E.

Parliament was thus almost unanimously in favour of the Bill.

Appendix VIII

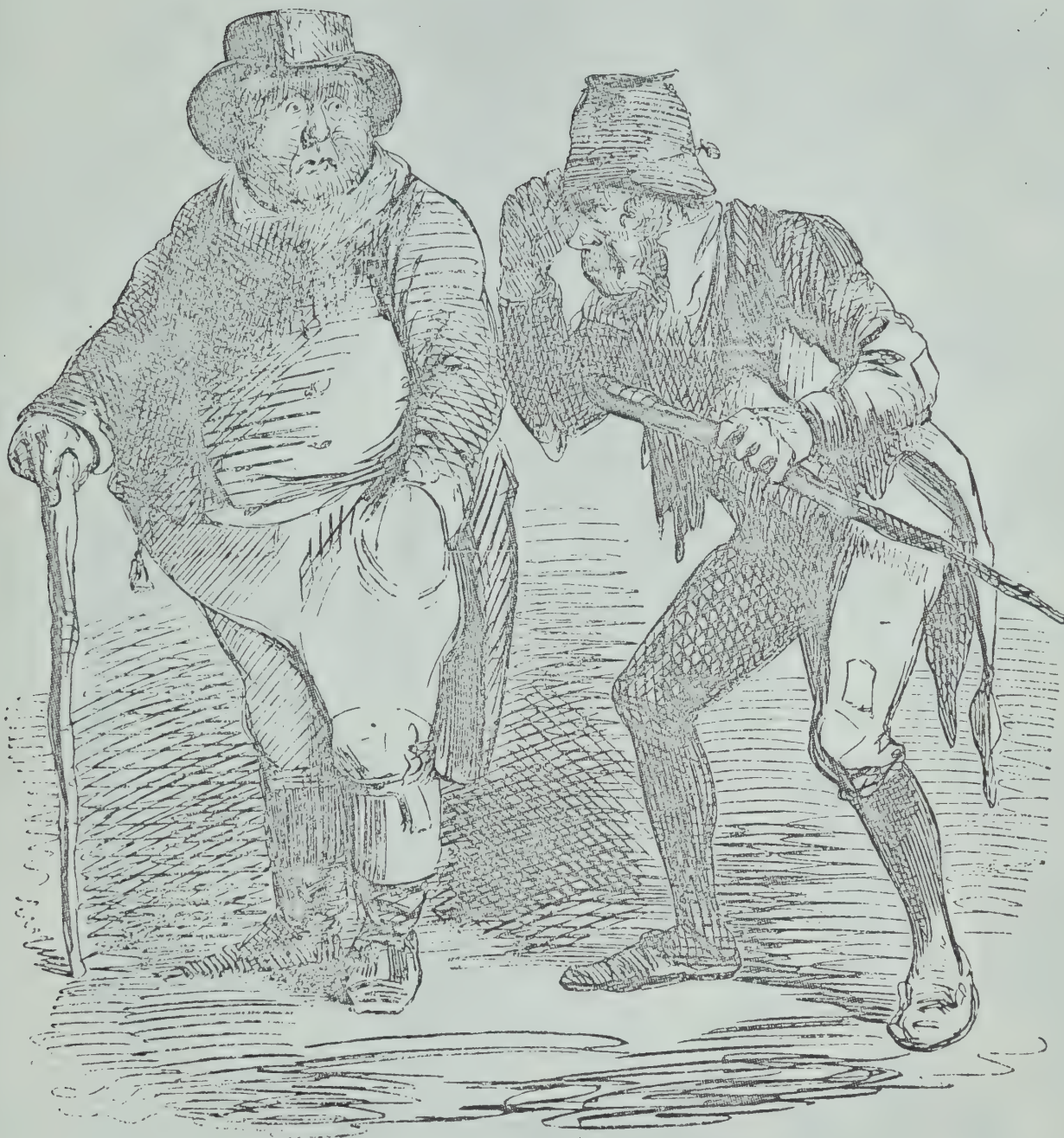
The following extract is from Sir George Nicholls History of the Irish Poor Law (London: August M. Kelley, 1967 [1856], pp. 162-63. It illustrates the association of squalor and idleness with the Irish which was frequently made by the Poor Law Commissioners. The similarities between the Irish and the English paupers are also noted.

"The Irish peasantry have generally an appearance of apathy and depression. This is seen in their mode of living, in their habitations, in their dress, in the dress of their children, and in their general economy and conduct. They seem to have no pride, no emulation; to be heedless of the present, and careless of the future. They do not strive to improve their appearance, or add to their comforts. Their cabins are slovenly, smoky, dirty, almost without furniture, or any article of convenience or common decency. On entering a cottage, the woman and children are seen seated on the floor surrounded by pigs and poultry, the man is lounging at the door, which can only be approached through mud and filth. Yet he is too indolent to make a dry approach to his dwelling, although there are materials close at hand, and his wife is too slatternly to cleanse the place in which they live, or sweep the dirt and offal from the floor. If you point out these defects, and endeavour to show how easily they might improve their condition and increase their comforts you are invariably met by excuses as to their poverty. Are a woman, and her children, and her cabin filthy, whilst a stream of water runs past the door—the answer invariably is, "Sure, how can we help it? we are so poor!" With the man it is the same; you find him idly basking in the sun, or seated by the fire, whilst his cabin is scarcely approachable through the accumulation of mud—and he too will exclaim, "Sure, how can we help it? we are so poor!" whilst at the very time he is smoking tobacco, and has probably not denied himself the enjoyment of whisky. Now poverty is not the cause, or at least not the sole cause, of this condition of the Irish peasantry. If they desired to live better, or to appear better, they might do so; but they seem to have no such ambition, and hence the depressed tone of which I have spoken. This may be partly owing to the remains of old habits, for bad as the circumstances of the peasantry now are, they were yet, I am persuaded, worse fifty or thirty years ago. A part also may be attributed to the want of education, and of a feeling of self-respect; and a part likewise to their poverty—to which last cause alone, everything that is wrong in Ireland is invariably attributed.

The desultory habits of the peasantry are likewise remarkable. However urgent the demands for exertion—if, as in the present season, their crops are rotting in the fields from ex-

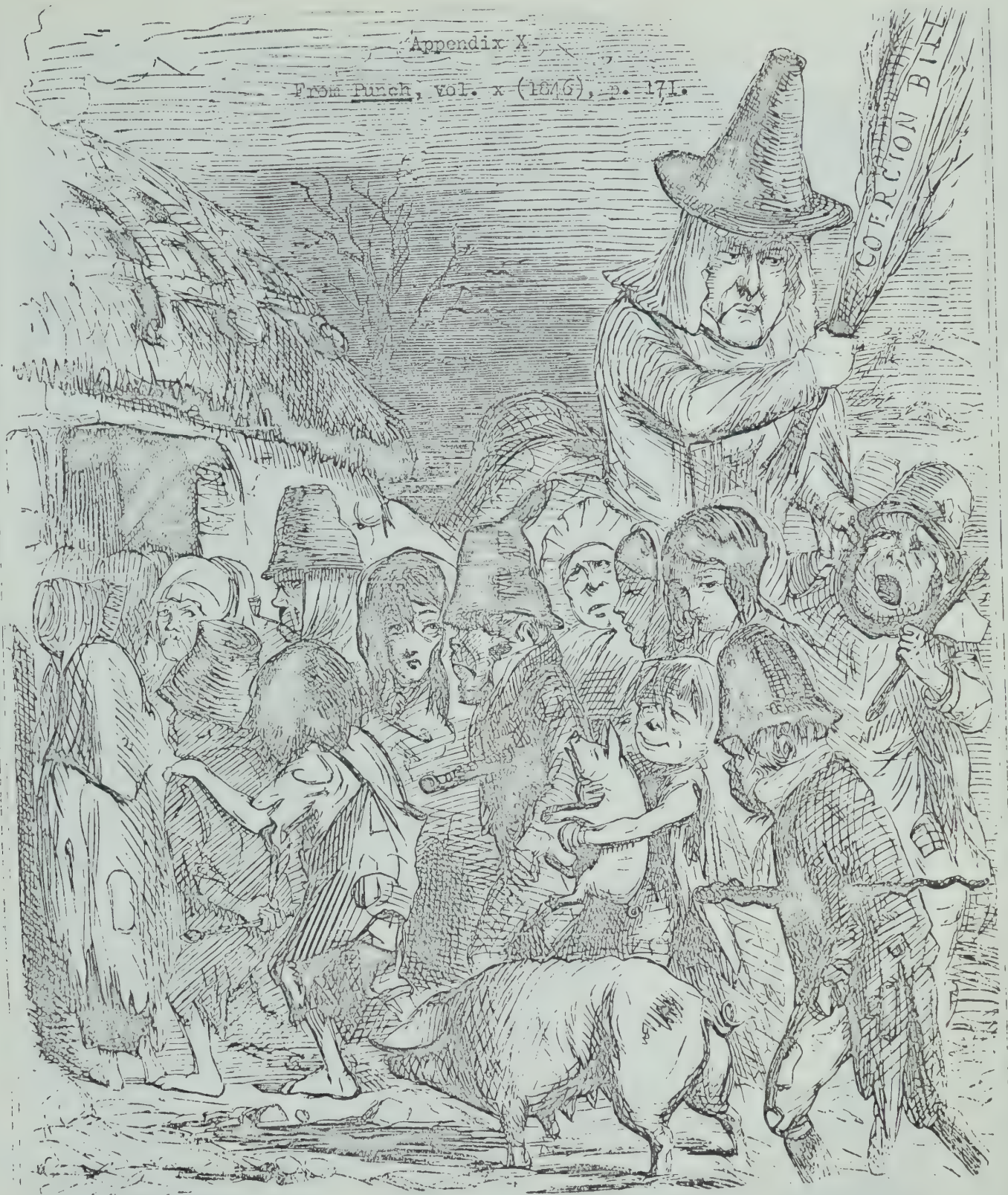
cessive wet, and every moment of sunshine should be taken advantage of—still, if there be a market to attend, a fair, or a funeral, a horse-race, a fight, or a wedding, all else is neglected or forgotten; they hurry off in search of the excitements which abound on such occasions, and with a recklessness hardly to be credited, at the moment that they are complaining of poverty, they take the most certain steps to increase it. Their fondness for ardent spirits is probably the cause of this, and another will be found in their position as occupiers of land. The work required upon their small holdings is easily performed, and may, as the say, 'be done any day.' Working for wages is rare and uncertain; and hence arises a disregard of the value of time, a desultory sauntering habit, without industry or steadiness of application. Such is too generally the character, and such the habits, of the Irish peasantry; and it may not be uninteresting to mark the resemblance which these bear to the character and habits of the English old Poor Law. Mendicancy and indiscriminate almsgiving have produced in Ireland, results similar to what indiscriminate relief produced in England—the like reckless disregard of the future, the like idle and disorderly conduct, and the same proneness to outrage having then characterised the English pauper labourer, which are now too generally the characteristics of the Irish peasant. An abuse of a good law caused the evil in the one case, and a removal of that abuse is now rapidly affecting a remedy. In the other case, the evil appears to have arisen rather from the want, than the abuse of a law; but the corrective for both will, I believe, be found to be essentially the same.

From Punch, vol. xi (1846), p. 225.



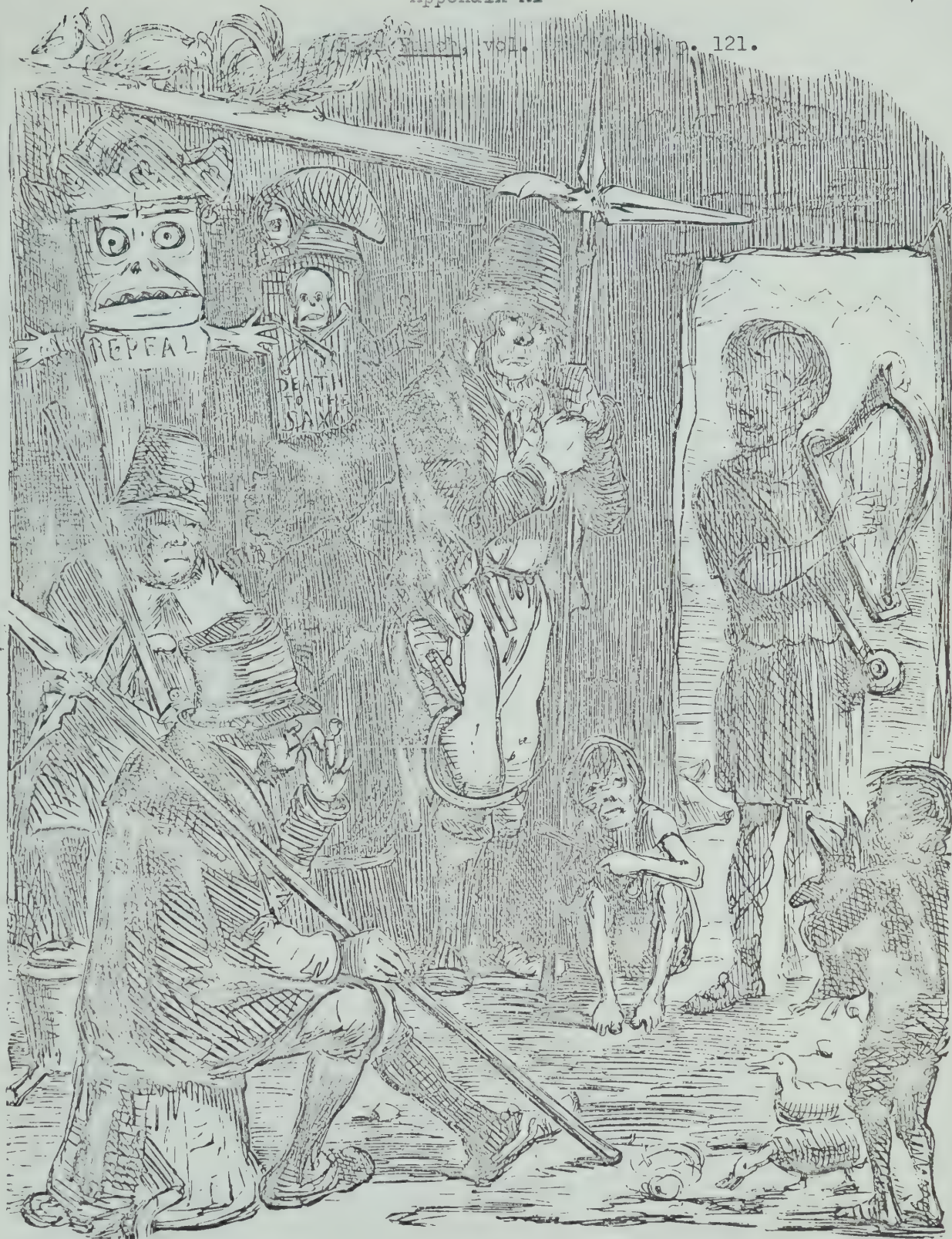
HEIGHT OF IMPUDENCE.

Tricknam to John Bull.—"SPARE A THIRPLE, YER HONOUR, FOR A POOR IRISH LAD TO BUY A BIT OF
A BLUNDERBUSS WITH."



JUSTICE TO IRELAND.

"She gave them some Broth without any Bread,
Then whipp'd them all Round, and sent them to Bed."



ALFRED THE SMALL,

DISGUISED AS A LITTLE WARBLER, VISITING THE IRISH CAMP;

BEING A GRAND HISTORICAL PARODY UPON ALF-D THE GR-AT VISITING THE DANISH DITTO;

And Intended for a Fresco in the New Houses of Parliament.

THE IRISH RANTERS.



Y the newspapers we perceive that the old style of melodrama, which has so completely disappeared even from the Surrey and the "Cowbug," has at length turned up on the other side of the water; but at a distance no less considerable than across the Irish Channel. SMITH O'BRIEN, MEAGHER, and MITCHELL, form a trio of ranters and shouters quite equal to their predecessors, the COBHAMS, the HICKSES, the FREERS, and the H. KEMBLEs, who, during the thirty years' war of absurdity against common sense, were accustomed to devote their last—or at least their loudest—breath to the once popular cause of dramatic extravagance.

The following scene, which is precisely the kind of absurdity in which MESSRS. MITCHELL, MEAGHER, and SMITH O'BRIEN have been accustomed to perform, will remind such of our readers as may be acquainted with it, of the old trans-Thamesian dramas, which were so famous in the Elizabeth-Martinian age.

The Scene represents a back-room in the office of the "United Irishman." MITCHELL is discovered writing a leader.

Mitchell. There—'tis concluded. Would that I could drive the point of this steel pen home to the hearts of the Saxon tyrants! or would that all England had but one reservoir of blood, that I might perforate the hated receptacle with a single dagger, and let the vile fluid wash over and fertilise my unhappy land!

Enter SMITH O'BRIEN and MEAGHER.

Meagher. Well, comrade, are you prepared to drag the Saxon jackall from his lair, and release the Irish Eagle to his mountain home?

Mitchell. No, not till I have sheathed this penknife in the bosom of tyranny, and planted the shamrock over my own grave.

Smith O'Brien. Your generous language warms me, and makes me long to be once more an inmate of some sequestered cellar, where I may turn the black diamond of the Wallisend into an ornament for my martyrhood's diadem.

Mitchell. Thou speakest bravely, friend. Let us swear to die on the altar of Erin, or strangle our oppressors with the wires of her neglected harp.

Meagher. In case I fall ere I can utter the feelings of my heart, I wish no other epitaph than that you, my friend (*to MITCHELL*), should speak for me my last words, which I now speak in advance, "Avenge me, France!"

Enter an OFFICER with a Warrant.

Officer (mildly). I beg your pardon, gentlemen, but it is my unpleasant duty to tell you that you are all three wanted on a charge of sedition.

Smith O'Brien. Wanted, indeed! Yes, and many more like us are wanted to rescue the first flower of the earth and first gem of the sea from the grasp of the Saxon.

Meagher (to the Officer). Go, tell the vile usurper, of whom thou art the wretched minion, that we shall rush eagerly into the chains he has prepared for us.

Officer (very mildly). There are no chains, Sir; you can put in bail, if you happen to know any person that's respectable.

Mitchell. Cautif! already does my trunkless head look from the murderous block on to my lifeless body, and I see my curling lip raising my clenched hand in stern defiance of thee, myrmidon, and thy base masters.

Smith O'Brien. Take me to my cellar home—the home of him whose only crime is love of country and hatred of the opposite.

Officer (still very mildly). Well, gentlemen, you'd better reserve what you've got to say until you get before the magistrates. I've got nothing more to do, but to serve you with these notices, and wish you good morning.

Smith O'Brien. Meanest of dogs! that dost thy master's bidding and snappest at the heels of heroes! Avenge! We come.

Meagher. Conduct us to our prisons. We prefer the martyr's pitcher of water, and the patriot's crust, to the traitor's gilded cup, or the recreant's banquet.

Mitchell. Go, tell the bloody government we are prepared, and will one day be revenged.

Officer (more mildly, if possible). Certainly, Sir; I'll take the message; but the "one day" you allude to must not be to-morrow, if you please, for that's the latest time that can be allowed you for finding bail.

SMITH O'BRIEN, MEAGHER, and MITCHELL are all making up their minds and their mouths for an overwhelming outburst of indignation, when the Scene closes in.

THE POTENTIAL MOOD.—M. LÉON ROSSIN seems to wish to rule France with his "Absolute Shall." Let us hope the Future will prove this "Absolute Shall" to be overruled in time by the "Popular Will."

Appendix XIII

In 1860 Thackeray told David Mason the following story which is quoted in The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray, Gordon N. Ray ed. (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945.), p. 130:

I'm quite at home with the Irish character! I know the Irish thoroughly. The best friend I ever had in the world--the nicest and most delightful fellow I ever knew in the world--was an Irishman. But, d'ye know, he was a great rascal! I'll tell you how he served me once. He was in low water, and was always coming to me to borrow a sovereign or two, when I hadn't many to spare. But he was such a dear, delightful fellow, it was quite a pleasure to lend them to him. One day, however, he came to me and said, "I say, Thack, you're a writer for magazines, and I wish you would get it into one of them for me, because I'm hard-up at present, and a few guineas would come in handy." I took his paper and actually kept one of my own papers out of "Fraser's Magazine" of the coming month, though it was rather a considerable sacrifice for me at the time, in order to get my friend's paper in. Oh! you've no idea what a nice delightful fellow that was! Well, the paper appeared; and it was perhaps a week or two after the beginning of the month before I next stepped into Fraser the publisher's shop. I thought Fraser looked rather glum when I went in; but I did not know the cause till he said,—

"Well, this is a pretty affair, Mr. Thackeray!"

"What affair?" I asked.

"Why, that paper of your friend's in this number!"

"What about it?" I said.

He went into a drawer and took out a newspaper clipping, and asked me to look at it. I did, and found to my horror, that my friend's paper was denounced as a barefaced plagiarism. It had been copied verbatim from an article that had appeared in some other periodical. The date and all other particulars were given.

I was of course greatly annoyed, and indeed excessively angry; and I thought, "well, I must cut the fellow forever; there is no getting on with him." I took the clipping with me and went straight to my friend's rooms, intending to blow him up, once and for all, and have done with him. I showed him the clipping and declared his behavior to have been scandalous. What do you think he did? He laughed in my face and treated the whole affair as a capital joke!

That's how my Irish friend served me: but oh! he was the nicest friend, the dearest, most delightful fellow, I ever knew in the world.

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